An Outline History of Japan

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日本歷史大綱

MAR 31 1960

AN OUTLINE
HISTORY OF JAPAN

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BY

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IN MEMORY OF
DOCTOR Y. HAGA
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PREFACE

"It is not necessary," says Dr. Samuel Johnson, "that a man should forbear to write till he has discovered some truth unknown before; he may be sufficiently useful by only diversifying the surface of knowledge, and luring the mind by a new appearance to a second view of those beauties which it had passed over inattentively before."

I trust, in this my telling over the story of Japan, in however sketchy a fashion, I have done at least this. If I have been fortunate enough to accomplish something more, by the inclusion of matters hitherto but scantly noted, I owe it to the kindness of many friends, both Japanese and American.

Especially I wish to acknowledge the assistance given by that truly great historian of things Japanese, Dr. Y. Haga, to whom I have the pleasure of dedicating this book. I would remember also a friend, alas, no more in the flesh, Mr. C. S. Arnell, of the University of Tokyo and the University of Commerce, Tokyo. My sincerest thanks again are due to my colleague at the University of Washington, Professor Eldon Griffin, whose help has been of the most practical sort. He has not only read the manuscript more than once, but has made the most valuable suggestions. I owe much also to the cordial coöperation of the publishers who have forwarded to me many hints which I have been glad to use. I can only regret that, with such assistance given, the book is not better than it is.

HERBERT H. GOWEN.

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ERAS AND REIGNS

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69. Go-Shujaku	1037–1045
70. Go-Reizei	1047–1068
71. Go-Sanjo	1069–1073
72. Shirakawa	1073–1129

---

[1] Note that the dates given are respectively the year of the Emperor's accession and the year of his death. At certain periods abdication was the rule rather than the exception.

73. Horikawa	1087–1107
74. Toba	1108–1156
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104. Go-Nara	1536–1557
105. Ogimachi	1560–1593
106. Go-Yojo	1586–1617
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109. Go-Komyo	1643–1654
110. Go-Nishio	1656–1685
111. Reigen	1663–1732
112. Higashiyama	1687–1709
113. Naka-Mikado	1710–1737
114. Sakuramachi	1720–1750
115. Momozono	1747–1762
116. Go-Sakuramachi (Empress)	1763–1813
117. Go-Momozono	1771–1779
118. Kokaku	1780–1840
119. Ninko	1817–1846
120. Komei	1847–1867
121. Meiji	1868–1912
122. Taisho	1912–1925
123. Hirohito (reigning)	1925–

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2. Minamoto Yoriiye	1199–1203
3. Minamoto Sanetomo	1203–1219

II. *The Shadow Shoguns*

4. Fujiwara Yoritsune	1220–1243
5. Fujiwara Yoritsugu	1244–1251
6. Munetaka Shinno	1252–1265
7. Koreyasu Shinno	1266–1289
8. Hisa-akira Shinno	1289–1307
9. Morikini Shinno	1308–1333
10. Moriyoshi Shinno	1333–1334
11. Nari-Yoshi Shinno	1334–1338

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1. Hojo Tokimasa	–1215
2. Hojo Yoshitoki	1205–1224
3. Hojo Yasutoki	1225–1242
4. Hojo Tsunetoki	1243–1246
5. Hojo Tokiyori	1246–1256
6. Hojo Tokimune	1257–1284
7. Hojo Sadatoki	1284–1300
8. Hojo Morotoki	1300–1311
9. Hojo Takatoki	1312–1326

---

[2] Note that the date of accession is that of attaining power rather than the actual date of appointment to the Shogunate.

III. *The Ashikaga Shoguns*

12. Ashikaga Takauji	1334–1358
13. Ashikaga Yoshiaki	1359–1367
14. Ashikaga Yoshimitsu	1368–1393
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16. Ashikaga Yoshikazu	1423–1425
17. Ashikaga Yoshinori	1428–1441
18. Ashikaga Yoshikatsu	1441–1443
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20. Ashikaga Yoshihisa	1473–1489
21. Ashikaga Yoshitane	1490–1493
22. Ashikaga Yoshizumi	1493–1508
23. Ashikaga Yoshiharu	1521–1546
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27. Iyeyasu Died 1616	1603–1605
28. Hidetada Died 1632	1605–1623
29. Iyemitsu Died 1652	1623–1651
30. Iyetsuna	1651–1680
31. Tsunayoshi	1681–1709
32. Iyenobu	1709–1712
33. Iyetsugu	1713–1715
34. Yoshimune Died 1751	1716–1745
35. Iyeshige	1745–1760
36. Iyeharu	1760–1786
37. Iyenari Died 1841	1787–1836
38. Iyeyoshi	1837–1852
39. Iyesada	1853–1857
40. Iyemochi	1858–1866
41. Yoshihisa (also known as Yoshinobu and Keiki)	1867

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AN OUTLINE HISTORY OF JAPAN

INTRODUCTION

WHY STUDY JAPANESE HISTORY?

"Long, long ago, in the good old days before the hairy-faced and pale-cheeked men from over the Sea of Great Peace came to Japan; before the black coal smoke and the snorting iron horse scared the white heron from the rice fields; before black crows and fighting sparrows, which fear not men, perched on telegraph wires, or even a railway was thought of, there lived two frogs—one in a well in Kyoto, the other in a lotus-pond in Osaka, forty miles away."[1]

Thus begins the famous story which relates how these frogs set out, each from its own home, to explore the wonders of the other city. They arrived at last at a point midway between Kyoto and Osaka, and then, each standing erect on his hind legs, proceeded to get a first sight of the strange town ahead. Alas, since frogs have their eyes at the back of their heads, in each case the vision was backward turned and neither frog saw aught but the city from which he had started. Is it wonderful that they turned sadly back, convinced that Kyoto was but the replica of Osaka and Osaka of Kyoto? "To this day the frog in the well knows not and believes not in the great ocean."

The great nations living on either side of the Sea of the Great Peace in some respects are not unlike these frogs of the story. At least of ourselves we may confidently affirm that in looking out upon other countries we have more or less persistently used the eyes in the back of our heads. In consequence, we have as a rule seen little except what was familiar to ourselves. Hence, in spite of the fact that our own national history has all along been moving in the direction of the Orient, our conception of that history has remained painfully provincial. We have, to a degree perhaps greater than in the case of any other great nation, lacked the international consciousness.

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[1] W. E. Griffis, *The Fire-fly's Lovers.*

Is it not time for us to give up being the "frog in the well"? Is it not time for us to move forward, with "eyes front," to make the acquaintance of our neighbors across the sea?

It has long been startling, to those who have perceived how continuously the development of our destiny has related us to the Orient, to realize that the vast majority of our fellow citizens—upon whose intelligence, in the long run, the success of our foreign policy must depend—know little or nothing about Japan and the Japanese beyond what a few tourists have reported.

Even as to the Japanese within our own boundaries ignorance is startlingly rife. It has been so even during agitations which one supposed must perforce disseminate some few crumbs of pertinent information. For example, in 1923, when interest in the Immigration Bill was at its height, a questionnaire was addressed to the senior classes of the Seattle high schools in which the first question was: "How many Japanese are there in the United States?" Of the answers received 52 per cent reported inability to answer, while the remaining 48 per cent gave figures all the way from four thousand to twenty millions.[2] "If they do these things in the green tree, what shall be done in the dry?" If high-school boys and girls on the Pacific coast think that there are twenty million Japanese in the United States, what chimeras may not their fears conjure up as among the possibilities of the other side of the ocean? What kind of foreign policy, moreover, as far as Japan is concerned, are they most likely to press upon subservient politicians who have no more knowledge of the subject themselves?

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[2] Paul W. Terry, *School and Society*, Oct. 20, 1923.

After this it is almost unnecessary to mention the less specific forms of ignorance. They reveal as startling a divergence from the facts as the Chinese geographer's account of the State of Rhode Island, "famous for its Colossus." To console the unlearned American, however, it may be pointed out that even H. G. Wells, in his *Outline of History,* tells us that the fleet of Commodore Perry anchored off Kyoto.

In general terms, it is impossible not to agree with a recent statement of Mr. Nakamura, when he says: "I have been astonished at how little the people of Japan and America know of each other. The majority of the American people are so ignorant of Japan that some of them with whom I talked in America asked me if Japan has any electric trams or steam trains." [3]

Of course, such ignorance as prevails is not without its explanation and even its excuse. Japan was not so much as a name, even to Europe, until after the return of Marco Polo from China in 1295. The *Xipangu,* moreover, which at this epoch first touched the imagination of the West, was nothing more actual or direct than a Genoese transcription of a Venetian's memory of a country he had heard about whilst in China. When the first edition of the *Encyclopedia Britannica* was published in 1768, twenty-five words were all that was required to tell what was known about Japan. It is enlightening to note the difference in the thirteenth edition. When, in 1853, Commodore Perry was sent to reopen Japan to the West, the general opinion of the significance of such an expedition may be gathered from the fact that a correspondent of the *Baltimore Sun* wrote from Washington: "It will sail about the same time with Rufus

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[3] *Trans-Pacific* (Tokyo), March 13, 1926.

Porter's aërial ship." Another contemporary newspaper declared: "For ourselves we look forward to [the] result with some such interest as we might suppose would be awakened among the generality, were a balloon to soar off to one of the planets under the direction of some experienced aëronaut."

Since that memorable occasion, the United States has been very busily employed in occupying the spacious heritage unfolding itself to new generations between the Atlantic and the Pacific. It is, therefore, not altogether strange to find that the vision of John Ledyard and others like-minded beckoned for long in vain and that the statesmanship of Seward had to await our own time for its full appreciation.

But now the matter appears in a different light. It is the duty of our own age both to lament its ignorance and to apply the proper remedy. If the question as to the wherefore of the duty must be so put as to be categorically answered, it is not hard to do so.

There are few modern nations with so unanswerable a claim for historical appreciation as Japan. Only a few months ago, Dr. Solf, the German Ambassador at Tokyo and President of the Asiatic Society of Japan, declared that "practically all the intellectual currents of the world have found their way to Japan." [4] To Americans, of course, the chief emphasis is rightly placed upon the close association of the two countries which geography and destiny together have made inevitable. On the one hand, Japan represents the last outpost of eastward-marching Asia. The Japanese are the frontiersmen of Asiatic history. And, on the other hand, America, in its march towards the Pacific, represents that fulfillment of destiny of which Mr. and Mrs. Greenbie have written so picturesquely in *Gold of Ophir*. As Mr. K. S. Inui puts it: "The New Englanders are the frontiersmen of the Englanders. . . . Middle-Westerners are the frontiersmen of the New Englanders; and the people of the Pacific Coast are the frontiersmen of the Middle-Westerners."[5] So Japan and the United States are being pushed by a force greater than themselves, even by the force of human movements back beyond the beginnings of history, into a neighborhood which should be beneficial to all mankind. It is clear that the two frogs of our fable are not intended to remain in their well.

---

[4] *Trans-Pacific* (Tokyo), April 24, 1924.

But it is not merely to "look one another in the face" that these two peoples are brought to confront one another to-day. In his last address at Tokyo, Mr. Cyrus Woods, the American Ambassador to Japan at the time of the earthquake, spoke of the possibilities of the civilizations of East and West being synthesized through their mutually good relations. There is every reason why this should be, for the advantage of each. An old Japanese story tells of Ebisu, who lived on an island and ate fish, and Daikoku, who lived on the mainland and ate nothing but rice. There was a wonderful result from their coming together and finding out that fish and rice went well together. In like manner, America and Japan have everything to gain from the increased association of which we speak. There will be gain to the material interests which urge the promotion of commerce; gain through the intellectual curiosity which holds nothing that is human to be alien; gain especially in all the spiritual sympathy which reaches out invisible hands across the dividing seas.

Upon the realization of this common interest and related destiny much more depends than the immediate material advantage of the United States. The two confronting civilizations are brought inescapably together at the present juncture to serve not only their own imperial interests, but to promote the peace and prosperity of the human race. If the great commonwealths around the Pacific rim have so far grown up under a policy of fear, it is given to Japan and the United States, in harmony with one another, to supersede this fear by a policy of trust. Whether we will it or not, the peace of the Pacific is in our own keeping. We brought about relations with Japan by our own insistency, and we cannot shirk the responsibility which the existence of those relations now entails. All our arguments about nonentanglements in Europe have no bearing upon our responsibilities in the Orient. To quote Mr. Woods again: "I think it is no exaggeration to say in conclusion that upon the friendship and coöperation between Japan and the United States the future of mankind may well some day depend."

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[5] K. S. Inui, *The Unsolved Problem of the Pacific,* p. 17.

Already the interchanges of cultural influence have been symbolically significant. Some years ago the Japanese made a gift of their famous pink-blossomed cherry trees to the national capital, Washington. The first attempt was a failure, on account of a certain infection which destroyed the trees. But the second experiment fared better, and now the cherry trees bloom as beautifully at Washington as though they nourished no grievance against the American Congress. So it will be with other interchanges of East with West and West with East. There may be incidents connected with the first endeavors to secure reciprocity which seem to make the effort desperately unpromising. Yet patience and perseverance will always in the end bring about the needed understanding.

I have left till the last some plea for the study of Japanese history on the ground of its own intrinsic interest and human value. The saying of Fustel de Coulanges, *"L'histoire ne sert à rien,"* certainly has no application to Japan.

Where else have we so continuous a dynastic history? Its beginnings may seem modern as compared with the hoary antiquity of Japan's great continental neighbor. But the insularity of the Island Empire has safeguarded her from foreign conquest and from dynastic change in such a way as to make her history unique as the history of China can never be. In spite of its many cultural borrowings, from China and elsewhere, Japan has remained all along true to itself. "What would you do," it was once asked of a prominent Japanese Confucianist, "if an army were to invade Japan with Confucius as generalissimo and Mencius as his first lieutenant?" The answer came promptly: "I would strike off the head of Confucius and steep the flesh of Mencius in brine." That is the spirit of *Yamato Damashii* which has burned undimmed for two and a half millenniums.

Where else has gathered to the support of a throne such patriotism as that of the island people who in the Thirteenth Century repulsed the hordes of Kublai Khan and in modern times set at nought the armed might of imperial Russia? It was the resistance of a whole people, as conspicuous among the peasantry and fisher folk as among the *bushi* ('knights'), nay, the resistance of winds and waves as well, so that "the divine wind of Ise" seems the voice of Japan's own soul, the spirit of her mighty dead.

Or, again, where Nature has been cruel instead of kind, and typhoons and earthquakes have shaken the frail island home of this heroic race, how courageously has adversity been accepted and how triumphantly has it been surmounted! To know something of the history of Japan from this point of view alone must be to multiply the sympathy which all men felt in those dark days of September, 1923.

Where, we may ask once again, has there been revealed a greater amount of political capacity for the transformation of the government machinery to suit the changing times and conditions? To accomplish so much by evolutionary rather than revolutionary methods is no little achievement. "Broadening out from precedent to precedent," we see the development of Japanese constitutional government, until the descendant of the Sun Goddess, with no impairment of prestige, becomes the honored head of a modern democracy.[6] It is surely one of the most wonderful things about Japanese history that the nation has been thus able to adjust itself successfully to the many successive crises which have marked its emergence into the full responsibility of international life. Over and over again has come to the outsider the temptation to think of new wine as being poured into old bottles. The Empire of Japan has faced many of those new occasions which bring new duties in their train. Yet the modernization of Japan has been achieved without violent shock, even though the throwing over of ancient privileges involved at times sacrifices on the part of the ruling clans which are almost unexampled in history.

Lastly, in what national history have we more varied and forceful examples of personality? We shall find great figures who are not outstatured in any assembly, however august. There are emperors and priests, saints and sages, heroes and heroines, warriors and recluses, artists and artisans, novelists and poets, commoners and nobles, the equal in intellectual, moral, and spiritual attainment of some of the very greatest our laboring planet has brought forth. Sometimes they blend themselves, without thought of self, with the rocks and streamlets of Nippon; sometimes like the separate petals of Dante's great White Rose of Bliss, they detach themselves for separate service, each revealing the possession of a soul and a voice.

The study of history (and *a fortiori* the writing of history) is under no circumstances an easy matter. "Historical accuracy," says a recent writer, "is, in fact, the most fleeting of vanities." No one can read Professor Allen

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[6] It might be worth while in this connection to note the report as to the withdrawal of imperial investments from those fields where the imperial interest might prejudice the case of the workers in the event of a strike.

Johnson's *The Historian and Historical Evidence* without realizing the ease with which one may acquire "a wholesome skepticism respecting the alleged facts of history." History, according to Wendell Phillips, "is for the most part an idle amusement, the day-dream of pedants and triflers." The story of Sir Walter Raleigh's despair at writing a history of the world after trying in vain to discover the facts as to something which occurred just outside his dungeon door in the Tower is *vieux jeu* by comparison with the results attained in modern psychology classrooms.

This is particularly pertinent in respect to the history of Japan, since, for several reasons, the critical study of this has scarcely begun. Old-time historians were discouraged from too close an investigation of early happenings, the interpretation of which might be regarded as politically indiscreet. Moreover, the critical spirit had hardly been awakened even to the using of the materials awaiting investigation. That an immense amount of work has to be done in the first-hand study of documents was made plain to the writer when the venerable *doyen* of Japanese historians was good enough to go over some of the material here presented. The patient insistence on accuracy with which Dr. Haga helped in the verification of a number of the matters here treated will never be forgotten. It is hoped that the assistance thus generously given may be recognizable in the following pages.

But, apart altogether from an accuracy so difficult at the present time to attain, it may be sincerely urged that any honest attempt to tell the story of Japan is worth the making. In the jungles of Central Africa travelers use boys whom they call "dew-driers," to go ahead through the dripping grass to prepare the way. Dew-driers have their justification in the exploration of the jungles of history. If the dampening criticism they attract makes it even a little easier for those who follow, they have not altogether lost their day at set of sun.

Within the humble limits which it is intended to observe in this volume it is to be hoped we shall not, by overdaring speculation, go so far astray as to make altogether useless the summary of some twenty-five centuries of a singularly moving piece of the human story. Every successive wave of Oriental thought has, in beating against the national consciousness, left on this story its ripple of sand. If, therefore, as Inazo Nitobe has said, "the very lost races are a palimpsest to be deciphered with a loving eye," how much more interesting must be the study of a nation which is, not merely "a museum of Asiatic civilizations," but a people in the very vanguard of advancing men.

There is an old Japanese play known as "The Pillow of Kantanu." The priest Rosei comes to a wonderful palace where is prepared the elixir which extends life to a millennium. He drinks and lays his head upon the enchanted cushion. Then immediately around him dance the seasons and the years, each treading on the other's heels. As soon as the chorus cries: "'Tis Spring, for hark the birds are calling!" comes the response: "'Tis Autumn, see, the leaves are falling!" So at last Rosei wakes to find his millennium gone, "the dream of a sinner while waiting for dinner."

We, too, in the study of an outline such as the present, must lay our heads upon the Pillow of Kantanu, passing swiftly through the centuries which roll themselves up behind us. Yet we need not on this account imagine we are merely dreaming. Rather we are sharing something which already in the past and in the present, and still more, in all probability, in the future, is part of that international, common life, from which we can in no wise escape.

Past and future are indeed so subtly interrelated that we cannot have sympathy with the one without the other. There is but little ground for believing that any foreign policy which has no root in the past will avail to solve the problems of the future.

The Japanese are fond of going to visit the cherry blossoms when the lovely petals are falling all around in flurries of pink and fragrant snow. These flurries are instantly gathered up and swept along the avenues by the winds of the new spring. But Japanese love the perishing blooms because they speak of the countless lives which have blossomed and withered in the past to give Nippon her fame among the nations. And, loving this, they love also to go, when the winter is as yet scarce departed from the earth, to view the plum blossoms. These have hardly emerged from the blackened branches which reach out stark through sleet and rain. But the Japanese love these adventurous blooms which challenge the future, since they speak prophetically of the glory and the beauty which are still to come.

From the other side of the world, we may gain a delight all our own from the lives which have been lived of old and from the thought of that future whose promise has as yet but begun to peep. So shall we get to know of ourselves something of the passion and the power hidden within the phrase, *Yamato Damashii* ('The Soul of Japan').

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CHAPTER I

PRELIMINARIES

The name

"Chipangu is an island towards the east in the high seas, fifteen hundred miles distant from the continent: and a very good island it is."[1] In these words the famous Venetian traveler, Marco Polo, lifts the veil which had hitherto hidden the farthest eastern Empire from the eyes of Europe. The name, as given by the Venetian, or rather by his Genoese amanuensis, represents his recollection of three Chinese words, namely, *jih* ('sun'), *pen* ('a root'), and *kuo* ('a kingdom'). Together they give us, not unpoetically, "The Kingdom of the Sunrise." Our own word "Japan" is either derived from this or, more probably, from *Japang* or *Japun*, the Malay rendering of the Japanese *Ni-hon* or *Nippon*, which is the Japanese pronunciation of the first two of the three Chinese syllables quoted above.

The Japanese generally prefix to the word *Nippon* the adjective *Dai* ('Great'). This designation seems to have been first used officially about A.D. 670, but other designations occur, particularly in poetry. One is *Yamato* ('the Mountain Portal'), a name made familiar in the famous poem of Motoori. Another literary name is *O-mi-kuni* ('the Great August Kingdom'). Some high-flown appellations are of portentous and almost immemorable length, such as "The-luxurious-seed-plains-the-land-of-fresh-rice-ears-of-a-thousand-autumns-of-long-five-hundred-autumns," a title requiring a series of just twenty-four Japanese syllables.

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[1] *Marco Polo* (Yule-Cordier edition), II, 253 ff.

So much has been written about the geographical basis of history that it ought to be plain to the student that he can scarcely make his way through the history without a very carefully acquired familiarity with the geography. This is particularly true of Japan, since the passion of Japanese for their native soil has been from the first almost a religion. If Oliver Wendell Holmes could say of England:

Geography

> One half her soil has walked the rest,
> In poets, teachers, sages,

how even more applicably he might have said the same of Japan! A recent poet, before committing suicide, wrote his "sword song" as follows:

> As the one heart's wish of those who die
> Has force to work fulfilment, I desire
> My love for this my land continually
> May burn, in death as life, a quenchless fire.
> So may I grow as pines upon her heights,
> And flow with all her rivers to the sea,
> And fall on her as dew in summer nights,
> And guard and serve her through eternity.[2]

What do we need to know of the geography of the Japanese Empire?

The Japanese themselves are disposed to commence the story with reference to a myth. In the Inland Sea, between the Main Island (in the neighborhood of Kobe) and the Island of Shikoku, lies the little island of *Awaji*. This (or the near-by rock of Onogoro) is said to be the original land formed by the Creator-god, Izanagi, when he dipped his spear into the Pacific and let the congealed drops fall upon the ocean surface in the shape of islands. The spot where

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[2] Shotaro Kimura and Charlotte Peake, *Sword and Blossom Poems*, Vol. II.

Izanagi and his wife Izanami landed on Awaji is still marked by a mound which rises high above the rice fields. Women still scoop earth from the sacred spot to mingle with their drinking water in order to bring good fortune to their first-born.

As a matter of fact, the islands came up from below the sea surface instead of dropping from the skies. A force, quite as formidable as that of the mythical Izanagi, belched them up in some great volcanic upheaval long before the dawn of history. "Japan," says Nitobe, "is the legacy of the primeval fire, as Egypt was the gift of the Nile."

Instead of placing ourselves on the hilltop of Awaji, let us seek a still loftier vantage point and try to gain a bird's-eye view of the entire Empire. First, let us visualize the long string of islands and islets which stretch, like the arc of a gigantic bow, from off the Chinese province of Fukien, in the latitude of the tropic of Cancer, to the extreme southern point of the peninsula of Kamchatka, a little beyond 50° north. In this long extended archipelago there are about 4,223 islands or islets. About 600 of them are inhabited and, excluding Sakhalin (of which only half belongs to Japan); five are of considerable size.

At the southern horn of the bow we have the large island of *Formosa,* now once again known by its Chinese name of *Taiwan* ('Terraced Bay'), but in Japanese, *Takasago* ('The High, Sandy Tract'). It was called *Formosa* ('The Beautiful') by the Portuguese, but as there are four or five other Formosas in the gazetteers, ranging all the way from the banks of the Danube to South America, a return to the older designation is a distinct gain. The island possesses the two highest mountains in the Empire, Mount Morrison and Mount Sylvia. It is well wooded with camphor trees and grows sugar, tea, rice, and tobacco profitably. Historically the island is famous for the exploits of the Dutch who established a fort here called Fort Zealandia; for the spectacular career of the anti-Manchu pirate, Koxinga, who made of Taiwan a kingdom for himself and his son; and, not least, for the entertaining but entirely fictitious account of the island given to the West in 1704 by that remarkable impostor, George Psalmanazar, who gave himself out to be a native of Formosa. The Chinese were probably glad to get rid of the island when it was ceded to Japan in 1895 by the Treaty of Shimonoseki. The new owners had a difficult time at first with the head-hunters, but have now made of the island an asset instead of a liability.

Immediately west of Taiwan are the *Pescadores* (Portuguese, "the Fishermen"), called by the Japanese *Hokoto.* These islands also fell to Japan by the Treaty of Shimonoseki. North of Taiwan, and holding it like a pendant on a chain, we next have the string of islands known as the *Ryukyu,* or the Loochoo Islands. The latter represents the pronunciation favored by the Chinese. This group was once an independent kingdom and is associated with the exploits of a famous archer of the Twelfth Century, Tametomo. For a long time the group was feudatory to one of the southern clans, the house of Shimazu, but maintained at the same time a secret vassalage to China. In 1875, after a controversy with China over the murder of certain Ryukyu fishermen, in Taiwan, the islands were definitely accepted as Japanese.

Still going north, we come to the southernmost of the main group of Japanese islands, *Kyushu* ('Nine Provinces'). It is famous as the abode of some of Japan's great fighting clans, and also as the island mainly in contact with the foreign and Christian influences of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth centuries. Here the Dutch, who gradually superseded the Portuguese, settled on the tiny island in the harbor of Nagasaki known as Deshima. In this spot they maintained a tenuous connection between East and West until the reopening of Japan. More important to the Japanese is the fact that on a mountain in the southern part of the island (Kirishima) is the landing place of the divine Ninigi, grandson of the Sun Goddess, from whom the Emperors trace their descent.

Immediately east of Kyushu is the island of *Shikoku* ('Four Districts'), according to tradition the second of the group created by Izanagi. The Inland Sea, which forms an almost landlocked channel between Kyushu and Shikoku on the south and the main island on the north, is deservedly famous for its scenery, as beautiful as any to be found in the world. The main island, to which we now cross, is variously called *Hondo* or *Honshu*. It stretches for 1,130 miles in a northeasterly direction from 34° to 42° North Latitude, with an average breadth of not more than 100 miles. Its area is 81,843 square miles, or about half the entire area of the archipelago. The more important part of the island is divided into the *Kwanto* ('East Side') and the *Kwansai* ('West Side'). In the Kwanto is the imperial capital, *Tokyo* ('Eastern Capital'), formerly known as Yedo. Near by is the great port of *Yokohama,* created after the reopening of Japan in 1854. At an almost equal distance from Tokyo is *Kamakura,* the administrative capital of the Shoguns from 1186 to 1333. It is now visited chiefly for the sake of the "Great Image of the Buddha" (the *Daibutsu*), one of the great art treasures of the world. Ninety miles to the north of Tokyo is the beautiful village of *Nikko,* famous for the mausoleums of the first and third of the Tokugawa Shoguns. The red lacquer bridge of Nikko, connected with a legend of St. Shodo Shonin, and opened to pilgrims only once a year, is famous throughout the Empire.

Journeying westward from Tokyo we pass by rail around the great mass of *Fujisan* (less correctly known as Fuji-yama), most famous of Japan's holy mountains, an almost perfect cone, 12,365 feet in height. About halfway to Kyoto we come to *Nagoya,* a large manufacturing city, but reminding us of legendary days in the shrine of Atsuta, where is supposed to be preserved one of the three sacred insignia of the Empire, the sword of Yamato Dake, one of the darling heroes of legendary days. Then a few hours further by rail in the same direction and we come to a group of interesting cities, *Kyoto, Nara, Osaka,* and *Kobe,* within a few miles of one another. *Kyoto,* the capital of the country from the beginning of the Ninth Century down to 1867, is still one of the most interesting places in Japan and full of historical reminder. Within a short distance by rail is *Nara,* an older capital still. *Osaka,* the greatest manufacturing city of modern Japan, lies not far off, and close again to Osaka is *Kobe,* one of the greatest of Japanese ports. Though all this district is at present associated with modern industries, we should remember that the authentic history of Japan begins in this very neighborhood. The deer of Nara are said to be the lineal descendants of the stag upon which one of the early deities of Japan rode even before the founding of the Empire. Up to the time of the Restoration in 1867 slayers of these deer were invariably put to death.

From Kobe, a day-long journey, still to the west, will bring us to the port of *Shimonoseki,* the port from which one may embark for Korea on the one hand, or for the southerly island of Kyushu on the other. Shimonoseki is a name of great significance in the story we are to relate and we shall have frequent cause to remember its situation.

To the north, washing the western shores of Hondo on the east, and the coasts of Korea, Manchuria, and the coast provinces of Siberia on the west, stretches the *Sea of Japan.* If we follow this to the northern extremity of Hondo, we may cross the Tsugaru Strait, from Aomori to Hakodate, and so reach the island of *Hokkaido* ('North Sea Way'), almost united, as by a railway coupling, to the main island. This island, once known as *Yezo,* is 350 miles in length by 280 miles in breadth and has a considerable Japanese population in addition to some 20,000

Ainus, the pitiful remnant of a once large aboriginal population. Still traveling north, we come to *Sakhalin,* long a bone of contention between Japan and Russia. The southern half of the island, to the 50th parallel, was ceded to Japan by Russia in 1905 by the Treaty of Portsmouth. The island is referred to by the Japanese as *Karafuto,* the Ainu name. During the latter part of the Great War, Japanese troops occupied the northern part as well, but have withdrawn since the treaty with Russia of 1925, with the privilege of exploiting a percentage of the coal and oil resources of the region. Forking to the northeast of Karafuto is the group known as the *Kurile Islands* to the Russians and *Chishima* ('Myriad Islands') to the Japanese.

Of the numerous other islands belonging to the Japanese archipelago may be mentioned *Sado,* the largest, west of Hondo on the 38th parallel; *Oki* and *Iki,* also off the west coast, but farther to the south; and *Tsushima,* about midway between Shimonoseki and the Korean coast. About 500 miles from the Japanese coast, eastward in the Pacific, between 27° 45′ and 26° 32′ North, is the *Bonin* group, consisting of about twenty islands aggregating an area of a little over 28 square miles. The Bonin (literally Bu-nin, 'Uninhabited') Islands were discovered by Japanese fishermen in the Seventeenth Century and added to the fief of the Ogasawara family. To the outside world they were quite unknown till the arrival of an American vessel in 1823. They became an issue in the Washington Conference owing to the desire of the Japanese Government to exclude them from the provisions restricting fortification. Ultimately Japan withdrew her contention. The islands now contain about 4,500 inhabitants.

By the treaty which followed the Great War, Japan acquired mandatory rights over several other island groups widely separated from the main islands. These include the *Caroline, Gilbert, Mariana,* and *Marshall* groups, all within that part of the Pacific known as Micronesia, and all lying just north of the equator in the neighborhood of New Guinea. They have a total area of about 950 square miles and a native population of 52,000.

In addition to her island territory, Japan has an extensive continental possession in the great peninsula of *Chosen* ('Morning Freshness') or *Korea.* The relations of Japan to this territory go back to mythical times. When the Storm God was banished for insulting his sister, the Sun Goddess, the exile touched first at the peninsula. But, instead of settling, he cried out in wrath: "I will not stay in this land." So, making for himself a boat of clay, he sailed for Izumi, on the main island of Japan. According to tradition, the Empress Jingo conquered Korea for Japan in the Third Century A.D. and exacted a promise of perpetual allegiance. In spite of this, and of later invasions, Korea remained a thorn in the side of Japan until recent times. In 1895, it was declared independent of China; in 1905, it was placed under a Japanese protectorate; and in 1910, it was formally annexed. To Europeans Korea was first known through the Arab geographer, Khordabeh, in the Ninth Century—"an unknown land beyond the frontier of Kantu." The earliest description, however, of any value is from the pen of the shipwrecked Dutch sailor, Hendrik Hamel, in 1653. After this we learn nothing more of the peninsula till it was visited by Captain Broughton in 1797.

To the north of Chosen, across the river Yalu, Japan holds the reversion of the economic and other interests acquired by Russia prior to 1904, including *Port Arthur* and the important port of *Dairen,* in the Liaotung peninsula, as well as the territory known as the *South Manchurian Railway* zone as far as Mukden, the old Manchurian capital. After the Great War, Japan held for a time the German lease of *Tsingtao,* in Shantung, which she had captured in 1914. This has since been surrendered in accordance with the provisions of the Sino-Japanese treaty which was brought about through the Washington Conference.

The Japanese *coast* is exceedingly long in proportion to the area of the country, being not less than thirteen thousand miles—one to every eight square miles of surface. The land itself is very mountainous, leaving less than an eighth of the area cultivable. A range of *mountains* runs through the entire extent of the main island, reaching its highest points in the volcanic cones of Fujisan and Asama. The former peak has won undying fame at home and abroad. Passports to travelers once read: "To the thirteen provinces around Fuji." Painters and poets alike have done their best to glorify this wonderful mountain. Fanciful etymologies derive the name Fuji from the Chinese words for "deathless" and "peerless," but a soberer philology declares that Fuji is simply the Ainu word for "fire." Several lateral branches from the main mountain chain are interesting and picturesque. In the provinces midway along the western coast of the main island are the famous *Japanese Alps,* with the peak of Ontake. The mountains around Nikko are scarcely less beautiful.

The *rivers* of Japan are numerous but for the most part short. Only three are over two hundred miles in length and only fifteen over one hundred. The quantity of water carried to the sea is large, but varies much at different seasons. The most important streams are the *Kitagami* and the *Sakata* in Hondo and the *Ishikari* in Hokkaido.

Population and resources

The first decennial census taken in Japan on October 10, 1920, revealed a total population of 55,961,140 in Japan proper, but outside this must be reckoned for Taiwan 3,654,398, for Karafuto 105,765 and for Chosen 17,284,207, a total of 77,005,510 for the Empire. Allowing for the annual increase, it is probable that the present population is in excess of 80,000,000. Japan proper is maintaining on the average 376 persons to the square mile, a density reached only in a few other countries, such as Holland, Belgium, and England.

As only 17 per cent of the Japanese soil is arable and the remaining 83 per cent given over to mountains, rivers, forests, lakes, and waste lands, it is plain that the *resources* of the country are far below its needs. The largest production is that of rice, but an increasingly large amount even of this has to be imported annually from British India, China, and Indo-China. The next most important crops are those of barley, rye, wheat, soy bean, millet, buckwheat, and potatoes.[3] Japan is climatically and agronomically unsuited for growing cotton, and although Chosen has been considered a promising field for this industry, not much has been there achieved. Camphor, sugar, and tobacco are grown in Taiwan, but much sugar has still to be imported from Java and Sumatra. Tea is an important crop, worth about 30,000,000 yen.

Live stock has not hitherto been raised in any large quantity, as neither milk nor beef were commonly used for food. Horses and cattle, however, are now being reared with considerable success and, since the Great War, sheep-raising has been started, in spite of the poor quality of the grass. Only a short time ago, travelers told of an itinerant menagerie in which a sheep was exhibited as "a ferocious lion." *Fish* of many kinds swarm in the seas and contribute one of the principal parts of the nation's food supply. Over 600,000 families are said to be engaged in the fisheries, and in 1922 the catch was valued at the sum of nearly 250,000,000 yen.

The large extent of Japan's nonarable land has no particular compensation in the amount of its *mineral* resources. The minerals which are most needed, namely, iron and coal, are badly lacking, though the need is in some respects being met by the use of the Hanyehping mines of Central China and others in Manchuria. Coal, however, is found in Hokkaido and Kyushu, and the recent concessions obtained from the Soviet Government in Sakhalin give promise of satisfying the present demand for oil. Copper was formerly exported from Japan in large quantities, but at the present time this metal has to be imported. Other metals, such as gold and silver, are found only in insignificant quantities.

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[3] Hirosi Saito, *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science,* Vol. CXXII (November, 1925).

In one direction, however, the resources of Japan are large and inexhaustible, namely, in the possibility of developing *hydroelectricity.* It is said that there is a potential supply of about eight million horsepower in the form of "white coal," or water power. Mr. Hirosi Saito has recently summed up the solution of one of the most pressing of present-day problems by saying that "Japan's economic salvation will have to be sought in water,—in reaping and utilizing marine products on the one hand and in advancing hydroelectric enterprises on the other."

But, though, in some of the respects to which allusion has been made, Japan must be considered a poor country, possessing but little of the gold with which Marco Polo supposed the temples and palaces of "Xipangu" to be covered, in some other directions Japan is wealthy indeed. The *plant* life of Japan is extraordinarily luxuriant, even where the luxuriance has had no economic importance. The known species of trees and plants, without reckoning mosses and low organisms, are said to number 2,743. Many of the species of bamboo are included, and these serve all purposes, from the provision of building material to the furnishing of choice tidbits at a banquet. The *gardens* of Japan are deservedly celebrated and have been so since Roshiko, a Korean, introduced the horticultural art in A.D. 612. A love of flowers is universal. Criminals on their way to execution will sometimes beg permission to buy a flower; wounded soldiers in the wars preferred a flower to a cigarette; and the German prisoners taken at Tsingtao in 1914 were each given a chrysanthemum after the surrender under the impression that their likings were the same. In the matter of gardens size is not of the first importance. Some of the choicest productions of the horticulturist's art have been small enough to be placed upon a tray.

So we are reminded of another of Japanese resources of the æsthetic kind. Where in the whole world are there more generous displays of beautiful *scenery* than in the 250 miles east and west along the Inland Sea? Who can ever forget, after once enjoying the sight, those azure waters, flecked with the white sails of the junks, or the beauty of the irregular shore, with its temples and trees, or the big temple gateway (torii) built out into the sea at Miyajima and forming a portal of mystery to the shrine beyond?

The whole story of Japanese humanity is indeed bound up inextricably with its appreciation of *Nature.* Take away the swordlike iris, with its suggestion of the warrior's courage, from the birthday of the boys on May 5, or the vision of the cherry blossoms in the spring, or delight in the color of the autumn maples, or pride in the beauty of wistaria, peony, azalea, or chrysanthemum, and you lose no little of the moral discipline through which the ages have fashioned the Japanese into what he is to-day. But we should be sadly mistaken were we to suppose Japan acquainted only with the manifestations of Nature in her milder moods. Nowhere, probably, in the world, has mankind suffered more than in Japan from the relentless fury of *earthquake* and *tidal wave.* The periodic catastrophes associated with the visitation of the earthquake have been terrible beyond imagination. From A.D. 684 down to 1923 we have a long list of recorded earthquakes, each of which has taken its toll of human life. Even as these lines are written comes the news of another in the neighborhood of Kobe, with its victims numbered by the thousand. These visitations, too, have had their educative discipline and have helped to make the Japanese what they are: brave, resourceful, prepared for any fate.

In this connection a word must be said as to *climate.* This again has had no little influence on the temperament and character of the Japanese people. Ellsworth Huntington says that "mankind is most progressive where there is not only a marked difference between summer and winter, but also where there are frequent variations from day to day." If this be so, the Japanese progressiveness is in part explained. With the *Black Current* (*Kuro Shiwo*) passing from the tropics to the east coast of Japan and then curving north to join the currents which wash the western coast of America, Japan gets its full share of rainfall. The humidity is such that the fine days only average four to three days of rain or snow. This too has its effect on the temperament and character, not to speak of the influence of the sea, within reach of which most people live. To foreigners the Japanese climate can hardly be said to be attractive. The summer rains, combined with great heat, are exceedingly unpleasant and the winter cold is almost as trying, especially where the attempt is made to live under native conditions. The best time for visitors is in the fall, when days occur which can hardly be matched anywhere. Even then one must beware of the dreaded typhoon which, originating in the China Sea, in the neighborhood of Luzon, may be expected at almost any time from June to October.

CHAPTER II

ORIGIN, RACE, AND LANGUAGE

Japanese origins

In some respects, as Dr. Nitobe declares, Japan is the youngest of Asiatic nations. From another point of view, she may be regarded as exceedingly old, preserving in her race a veritable museum of Asiatic race history. As might be expected, from the large number of theories put forth on the subject, the story of Japanese racial origins is an exceedingly complex one. The hunt for an ancestry has taken Japanese ethnologists almost to the ends of the earth. Naturally no detailed account of these various theories can be ventured upon here. We must be content with the simplest and broadest outline possible.

It will be conceded from the start that the archipelago has been peopled, probably for several thousands of years, by a mixed race. Professor Hamy has stated that nowhere else had he found more extensive miscegenation than in Japan. "There is scarcely a race," he affirms, "which has not contributed to make the Japanese nation, the Caucasian, the Mongolian, the Malay, and even, in the south, a slight tinge of the Negrito from the islands of the Pacific."[1] Whatever other races have inhabited the islands of Japan, the oldest, and so entitled more than any of the others to the name of aborigines, are the *Ainus*, now confined to the northern part of the archipelago. Some ethnologists, indeed, foreign as well as native, have been convinced of the existence of a still earlier race, now entirely extinct, known as the *Koropok-guro* ('Earthhiders'). But the majority of scholars are satisfied that this term merely refers to some early ancestors of the Ainus possessed of a still more rudimentary culture. The Ainus are described by Dr. A. C. Haddon in somewhat technical language as "undoubtedly the relics of an eastward movement of an ancient mesocephalic group of white cymotrichi who have not left any other representatives in Asia, though travelers often refer to the resemblance of the Ainu to the Russian mujik." [2] In less scientific terminology this means that the Ainus were originally white people, with skulls something between the long-headed and the short-headed type, with hair smooth, wavy, or curly, and that they probably migrated across the Eurasiatic continent. Another anthropologist, Dr. Deniker, notes their resemblance not only, as does Haddon, to the Russians, but also to the Todas of India and the aborigines of Australia.

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[1] Inazo Nitobe, *The Japanese Nation*, p. 89.

In appearance the Ainus are low-statured, hairy people, with bushy beards often falling to the waist. It is this feature which led to their being called *Yemishi* ('Prawn Barbarians'). The word *Ainu* probably means "man," but by a kind of folk-etymology it has been associated with *inu* ('a dog'). Based on this etymology is a legend which explains the origin of the race from the mating of a runaway princess, the daughter of Kamui, with a large dog, or wolf. It is probable that the Ainus in neolithic times passed from the continent of Asia by way of Sakhalin and the Kuriles, although some ethnologists have favored a movement rather from the south. This opinion is founded on nothing more substantial than the fact that in historic times the Ainus are seen in more or less constant retreat northward before the invading Japanese. There can be little doubt that at one time the Ainus occupied most of the islands. Thousands of shell mounds, or kitchen middens, some of which may go back as far as six thousand years, have been discovered around the coasts, north and south. But, as mentioned above, the Ainus are now confined to the north. About one thousand five hundred live in Sakhalin and something over eighteen thousand gain a precarious living by fishing and hunting in Hokkaido. The shell mounds which have been opened in various places not only give us a good idea of the spots inhabited by this ancient race, but also reveal their culture through the remains of pottery, weapons, implements and decorative art.[3]

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[2] A. C. Haddon, *The Races of Men*, p. 89.

To-day most of the Ainus are pathetically degenerate, dirty, drunken, and gluttonous, although some splendid missionary work has been carried on among them and in some particulars their conditions have shown improvement. The most notable of foreign missionary workers is Rev. John Batchelor, the foremost authority on all things Ainu. Nevertheless, Ainu civilization is still at a low level. Sake, or rice spirit, is still known to them as *tonoto* ('official milk'), probably because in past times the Ainus were so frequently paid for their labor in this doubtful form of currency. Perfect happiness is expressed in Ainu by the phrase *Ibe aeramushime,* which signifies "I am in the state of knowing that I have eaten." The index finger again is known as "the finger for licking the cup." [4] It is said that the subjugation of the Ainus had a marked influence on the development of the Japanese language and particularly on its use of honorifics and depreciatives.

The Ainu religion has been exhaustively dealt with by Archdeacon Batchelor.[5] It may be described as a system including both fetishism and totemism, together with the recognition of a Supreme God, who is called Kamui ('That Which Is Above'). The Fetishes (*inao*) are the go-betweens employed to maintain touch with the spirit world. The commonest fetish is the ancestral caretaker of the hearth, a piece of hardwood (generally lilac) whittled into the rough resemblance of the human figure, with a frill of shavings. This is stuck into the clay hearth with a dedicatory prayer asking it to watch over the fortunes of the house. The Ainu totem is the bear, which is worshiped and sacramentally eaten, with ceremonies strikingly reminiscent of those described in the Finnish epic, *Kalevala.*[6] The bear cub, "the dear little, divine thing," which has been cared for as though one of the family, is sacrificially offered to the Great Bear spirit, to keep up the unity of the clan. In addition to the above, there are signs of cereal worship and of fire worship. The sun is worshiped, but not the moon, though the latter is regarded as the sun's wife. One of the old Ainu legends runs as follows:

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[3] N. Gordon Munro, "Primitive Art of Japan," *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan,* 1906.

[4] John Batchelor, "Lecture on the Ainu Language," *Trans-Pacific* (Tokyo), May 1, 1926. Dr. Batchelor says, rather optimistically: "The Ainu language is now being earnestly taken up as a study by many Japanese circles. And this makes one's heart rejoice, for it is a gem which is well worth attention."

[5] *See Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics, sub voce,* Ainu.

> The sun and the moon are husband and wife. They are divine beings whose province it is to rule the heavens and the earth. The male is appointed to do his work in the day-time only, and the female at night. Sometimes, however, they may be seen traveling across the heavens in company. The divine sun is the larger of the two, has the brightest and best clothing to wear, and shines the most clearly. The moon is round like a cake of millet, and is clothed in dark and white garments which are worn one over the other. Now the moon is sometimes invisible. When this is the case, it is because she has gone to visit her husband.

Some idea of a future life seems to prevail, since it is believed that the Fire Goddess keeps a perfect picture of every word and deed wherewith to confront the spirit after death.

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[6] *See Kalevala,* Runo xlvi, "Wainamoinen and the Bear."

The question as to whether the Ainus have intermingled with the Japanese proper, and as to the extent of this intermingling, is a difficult one to decide. Some say that intermarriage between Ainu and Japanese proves sterile; others agree with Dr. Haddon in the statement that "in places the Japanese show undoubted Ainu mixture." Dr. Lynn Thorndike is much too positive when he says that the Ainu "now scarcely exist as a separate people, but are a large factor in the present racial composition of the Japanese." [7]

A second element in the Japanese race as to which there has arisen much controversy is that known as *Sushen*. These apparently are of Tungusic stock, the tribes which in later times produced the Manchu conquerors of China. They are first heard of as invading Japan, by way of Sado Island, in the middle of the Sixth Century of our era, and their depredations continued as late as the Eleventh Century. They probably occupied some of the land they invaded, but it is probable that they were never numerous enough to affect sensibly the ultimate race.

Much more important were elements which entered the archipelago by way of Korea. These may very well have represented a considerable number of raiding expeditions, separated from one another by long stretches of time. They bear the general name of *Yamato* ('Mountain Pass'), after the name of the western part of the main island where they first settled. They are, in the general sense, Mongolian, but are represented in Japan as the "fine," or *daimyo* ('chieftain') type. Deniker describes them as characterized by "a tall, slim figure; a relative dolichocephaly [long-headedness], elongated face, straight eyes in the men, more or less oblique and Mongoloid in the women; thin, convex, or straight nose." [8]

The last element to be considered is by no means the least important. It is known as *Kumaso* (possibly from *Kuma* ['bear'] and *Oso* ['otter']), and came from the south, probably by way of Formosa, carried by the Black Current (*Kuro Shiwo*). It seems likely, however, that they represented, before their arrival, a good deal of crossing with Indonesian and even Polynesian elements. They first occupied the province of Hiuga, in the island of Kyushu. While there has been some difference of opinion on the matter, most scholars agree that the Kumaso influence on the Japanese race has been very important. Professor Hara adduces in particular the fact that rice, a southern food, continued to be the food of Japan, although the immigrants by way of Korea could hardly have been familiar with it. The Japanese houses, moreover, are hardly the kind to which people living in the rigid climate of Korea and Manchuria could have been accustomed. For these and other reasons it is a plausible theory that the element of the Japanese race which hailed from a tropical region must have been quite considerable.

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[7] *See* Haddon, *op. cit.*, p. 95; Lynn Thorndike, *A Short History of Civilization*, p. 270.

[8] J. Deniker, *The Races of Man*, p. 387.

Nevertheless, however different at first, the main streams combined and in time verified the poem of one of the old emperors:

> Oranges on separate branches grown,
> When plucked, are in one basket thrown.

The people of Izumo and Satsuma in course of time forgot all internecine conflict and created the strong, dominating state of Yamato, from whence came the earliest rulers of a united nation.

It has been said that for the making of a nation two chief conditions are requisite: first, the intermingling of various elements; secondly, a sufficient space of time to enable these elements to become welded together into what may properly be termed a race. Japan has had the advantage of both these conditions. However distinguishable physically, the Japanese have acquired certain easily recognizable psychological traits. They are cheerful and courteous, exceedingly courageous, and capable of great restraint and composure. They are frugal in their habits, industrious in labor, artistic beyond most nations of the West, obedient to recognized authority, ready for sacrifice in the cause of Emperor and Empire. They have also great respect for detail, a respect which has enabled them to accomplish great things. Of course, the defects of these qualities often appear and have been sufficiently pointed out by many critics. For those who think of the Japanese as having "jumped out of their skins" in modern times to make progress in western ideas, it is well to remember that the Japanese characteristics have been much the same for at least a thousand years.[9]

Language

The problem of the Japanese language is as yet largely unsolved. In 1820, Klaproth classed Japanese as a Ural-Altaic tongue.[10] Aston has learnedly attempted to relate Japanese to Korean, though as far back as history goes Koreans and Japanese could not converse without the aid of an interpreter. Some have sought to demonstrate an affinity with the Aryan tongues. Others have tried to find a solution in the theory of derivation from the language of the Ryukyu Islands. Mr. Nitobe has summed up the matter from his own point of view as follows: "Philologically Japanese is a forlorn and solitary orphan, that can claim no relationship, either lateral or collateral, with any other language. Like poor little Mignon in *Wilhelm Meister*, its face is turned vaguely towards the south [Malaysia?] yearning for the land where the lemons bloom: but not a few scholars have traced the trails along which the Japanese traveled from the foot of the Altai Mountains." [11]

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[9] *See* Sidney L. Gulick, *Evolution of the Japanese, passim.*

[10] Thorndike (*op. cit.*, p. 270) says: "The Japanese language is related neither to the Ural-Altaic group nor to the Chinese, but is of an independent family comprising also Korean and Loochooan."

[11] Nitobe, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

Of course, in historical times the vocabulary of China has been drawn upon extensively for the enrichment of the language and new words are being constantly added. Portugal and Holland contributed a very few and some are now, in forms more or less recognizable, being introduced from the English. Such a word is *haikara* ('high collar'), the designation now given to anything particularly smart or high toned.

For literary purposes a knowledge of the Chinese ideographs was necessary from the first, since these were in use long before the invention of a native script. The Chinese characters are still used for the more important words, though often transliterated by Japanese characters placed alongside. The two Japanese scripts, known as the *kanas*, are adaptations of simple Chinese characters to form a series of from forty-seven to fifty syllabic sounds. The *kata-kana* are arranged to ring the consonantal changes upon the five vowels, *a, i, u, e, o,* while the *hira-gana* (or 'grass character') form a more cursive script in which the syllables make up a little poem known as the *iroha*. The general tradition is that these scripts were invented respectively by the two Buddhist sages, Kiki no Makibi and Kobo Daishi, about the close of the Eighth Century. But Dr. Haga has shown that there is no real ground for this tradition. He has written a learned volume to prove the very gradual evolution of both sets of *kana* from the old Chinese forms.

The use by the Japanese of three different scripts has been of considerable disadvantage to scholars, native as well as foreign. Some years ago, the late Baron Kanda attempted to introduce the romanization of the Japanese writing, but so far the use of the Romaji is hardly as widespread as might have been expected.[12] The Ministry of Education had indeed done much to eliminate as many as possible of the varieties which calligraphic vanity has introduced into the use of the *hira-gana.* But so far no ministry has had the courage to abolish the Chinese ideograms and to restrict the writing of Japanese to the comparatively simple system of the *kata-kana.* The latter, being phonetic, cannot indicate, as do the Chinese characters, the different meanings of the many homonyms.

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[12] An effort is being made to revive interest in the use of Romaji by Dr. K. Amano.

CHAPTER III

MYTHICAL JAPAN

Antiquity of Japanese history

The antiquity of Japanese history is not great when compared with the annals of China, stretching back for millenniums before the beginning of the Christian era. Japanese authority has assigned a definite date for the accession of the first Emperor, namely February 11, 660 B.C. But this date is no more to be taken seriously than the declaration of Archbishop Usher that the world was created at 9 A.M. on October 23, 4004 B.C. Of course, no such precision in either case is attainable. It is probable that the Japanese date is the result of prefixing a Chinese Great Cycle of 1,260 years to the date A.D. 600, about which time the use of the Chinese calendar was inaugurated. There were so many traditional events that required to be given a setting that it seemed fair to the chroniclers to push back to the extent of a Great Cycle for the beginning of the national annals. History, in the more rigorous sense of the word, can hardly be said to have begun much before the introduction of Buddhism in the Sixth Century A.D., and some might doubt the value of dealing with any of the earlier material. But, since history is one of the first subjects taught in Japan, and since on page one of the textbooks we find the familiar story: "The Ancestress of His Imperial Majesty is the Goddess Amaterasu, and her virtues are widespread as the Sun's rays," etc., it will hardly do to leave out of account the misty regions from which, as in the case of the Sun Goddess herself, Japanese history, in the more scientific sense, emerges.

Sources

The sources of Japanese history of any very early date are exceedingly scanty. First of all, our historians are the *katari-be* ('raconteurs'), rhapsodists like those bards who sang the sagas of ancient Erin, or the *kahunas* who chanted the *meles* of a bygone Hawaii. Not long after the introduction of Buddhism, through the influence of the Empress Suiko (593-628) and especially through the first princely patron of Buddhism, Shotoku Taishi, of the early Seventh Century, such works were compiled as the *Tenno-ki* ('Record of the Emperors'), the *Ko-ki* ('Record of the Country'), and the *Hon-gi* ('Original Records of the Free People'). When, however, the Soga family, who were the historiographers of the time, were accused of high treason in 645 and executed, the documents were thrown into the fire and only one survived in such shape as to be used in the *Kojiki*. The Emperor Temmu (673-686) made a very praiseworthy effort to sift truth from falsehood in reëstablishing history, but no permanent record was achieved till the beginning of the Eighth Century, when the memory of an ancient chamberlain, *Hiyeda-no-Are*, was drawn upon to create the two surviving classics of ancient Japan, the *Kojiki* and the *Nihongi*. The *Kojiki* ('Record of Ancient Times') was compiled in 712, under the Empress Gemmyo, and is written in Japanese transcribed with Chinese characters. The *Nihongi* ('Record of Nippon') came to light under the Empress Gensho in 720 and was written in Chinese. Some of the material, too, has been suspected of being originally Chinese. Thus we owe to Hiyeda-no-Are, the man "who could repeat with his mouth whatever was placed before his eyes, and record in his heart whatever struck his ears, our first impressions, however faulty, of the romantic story of Japan.[1]

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[1] There is a translation of the *Kojiki* by Professor B. H. Chamberlain and of the *Nihongi* by Mr. W. G. Aston.

We may conveniently divide the great mass of material dealt with in the Annals prior to the introduction of Buddhism into two periods. One of these we shall call the *mythical,* as concerning the doings of the gods, and the other the *legendary,* as concerning the deeds of the earliest heroes and heroines. In the former period we seem to float for uncharted ages upon the waters of a deep and fog-bound ocean; in the latter we find a very precarious footing for a thousand years across a region of morass.

Mythical Japan

By Brinkley the Mythical Period is well entitled the *Age of the Gods,* or the *Kami,*[2] limiting the application of the term for this particular period to those divine forces of Nature which were the earliest to be recognized and reverenced.

There is no real beginning of things. In the first lines of the *Nihongi* we are told:

> Of old Heaven and Earth were not yet separated, and the male and female principles not yet divided. They formed a chaotic mass, like an egg, which was of obscurely defined limits and contained germs. The purer and cleaner part was thinly drawn out and formed Heaven, while the heavier and grosser element settled down and became Earth. The finer element easily became a united body, but the consolidation of the heavy and gross element was accomplished with difficulty. Heaven was therefore formed first and Earth was established subsequently. Thereafter divine beings were produced between them.

In "The Plain of High Heaven" was produced a whole series of paired deities, male and female, till we come to the famous pair, *Izanagi* ('the Male who Invites') and *Izanami* ('the Female who Invites'). These, when rationalized, repre-

Izanagi and Izanami

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[2] The word *kami* is, literally, anything that is above. It includes the gods, the chiefs, and even the hair on the top of the head. In the latter case, however, some divine quality, or *mana,* seems attributable to the hair as a soul-seat.

sent the Heaven and the Earth, as in so many other mythological systems. They are the divine parents of all Japan. Their appearance was followed by various attempts to create the islands, but all that was at first churned up was an isle of foam, till Izanagi stood upon the Floating Bridge of Heaven (the Rainbow) and plunged his jeweled spear into the ocean. Then he withdrew it and let fall from the spear point "the island of the congealed drop," which was, as we have seen, either the island of Awaji, or the rock Onogoro over against it. Then the god piled up the lofty hill and fastened to it the Floating Bridge, and, lo, the earth-makers came, as by a ladder down from Heaven. Earth having been made ready for habitation, many other things were divinely created, till at last the all-mother, Izanami, died in giving birth to the God of Fire. The grieved father cut off the head of his offspring, but the result was only to make more deities out of the scattered drops of gore. Then Izanagi, like Orpheus of old, when he sought Eurydice, went down into the land of Yomi, the underworld, that he might rescue his deceased spouse. But, alas, the corruption of the place so distressed his soul that he fled precipitately, pursued by the awful warriors of the night, the Eight Ugly Hags of Hell. These in their pursuit he delayed, in a manner recalling the story of Atalanta, by flinging to them the broken teeth of his hair-comb, transformed into grapes and peaches. Some of the magic fruit he succeeded in bringing back with him to the Central Land of Reed Plains, that it might help all living men as it had helped him in the world of the dead.

Amaterasu

When Izanagi was returned from Hell, the first impulse was to purify himself from the pollution of the underworld. The lines which detail the stripping off of his garments are valuable as giving the earliest account we possess of the dress worn in primitive Japan. There were fourteen distinct acts of ablution, and from each of these was born a god. Izanagi washed his left eye and there was born the bright eye of the heavens, *Amaterasu-o-mi-kami,* the resplendent Goddess of the Sun. He washed his right eye and there was born *Tsuki,* the Moon God.[3] He washed his nose and the Storm God, *Susa-no-o,* the nostrils of the skies, was born. Of the Moon God we hear little more. He offended his august sister by slaying the God of Food, in disgust at seeing that deity disgorging from his mouth the rice and fish by which men live. So Tsuki and Amaterasu parted, like the Sun and the Moon in the heavens, never to meet again. Happily the Food God, though slain, continued to produce his horses and oxen, rice and millet, silkworms, wheat, and beans, so that needy humanity was kept alive. His Impetuous Highness, the God of Storm, has a much larger place among the myths of Japan.

Amaterasu and Susa-no-o

We have had preserved for our edification a very strange series of myths dealing with the memorable conflict between the Sun Goddess and Susa-no-o. Whether these conceal behind the bizarre details some nature myth of the darkening of the sun by a great typhoon, or whether they tell obscurely of a warring struggle between opposing clans, we cannot know for certain. The story begins with a curious rivalry in which god and goddess confront one another, crunching swords and jewels and producing, with a conjuror's ease, all sorts of strange deities from the fragments. The attempt to claim possession of the newly made kami leads to a quarrel in the course of which Susa-no-o desecrates his sister's garden, breaks down the dykes of her rice fields,[4] and, as a crowning insult, drops a piebald horse, flayed backwards, through a hole in the roof among the weaving maidens. What the ultimate significance of this uncanny incident may have been must be left to the imagination. As the horse came to Japan by way of China, we may conjecture some perverse use of the old horse sacrifice (the Indian *açvamedha*) for the purposes of evil magic.

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[3] Note that in Japan the sun is feminine and the moon masculine.

[4] The offense of Susa-no-o seems to point back to some of the pre-Jimmu sins against agricultural purity. These are the heavenly sins as distinguished from the earthly sins of later post-Jimmu origin.

The consequence of this shocking behavior on the part of the unruly deity was that the outraged goddess, who had, moreover, been wounded by her shuttle, decided to retire into her cave. And lo, all light was withdrawn from the earth. Nature was wrapt in gloom and the sun's eclipse threatened to be fatal to all the world. So all the kami assembled and begged the angry Amaterasu to relent. Upon the mythical details of this divine action is based much of the ritual of the primitive religion of Japan known as Shinto. These details include the crowing of the cock, to bring back the light of day; the divining with the scorched shoulder-blade of a stag (scapulomancy); the tub dance; the making of musical instruments; and the bringing of the mirror. All the eight hundred myriad kami came and planted the *sakaki* tree of five hundred branches. Then they decorated it with the rosary of five hundred jewels, the eight-handed mirror, and the offerings of colored cloth. Then, with all the birds of Heaven roused to expectant song, the goddess Ame-no-Uzume danced. In the dance all the numerals were recited, amid the laughter of the gods.

Then to the cavern they hied, with Uzume, the goddess of laughter,
Who danced to the light of the moon on the marge of the frolicsome wave,
Rending the welkin with cries, till Amaterasu soon after,
Roused from her slumberous couch, peered forth from the door of her cave.[5]

When Amaterasu, thus moved with curiosity, looked forth, she saw her own form in the mirror, but supposed herself in the presence of a rival. So she came forth in a bad temper.

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[5] Elizabeth W. and Frère Champney, *Romance of Old Japan,* p. 9.

Scarce had she quitted the cave, when suddenly unto the portal,
Taji Karao, the strong, rolled a boulder of mountainous height,
Cutting her off from retreat, our sun-giving goddess immortal,
Ever to smile on the land with the grace of her bountiful light.[6]

Susa-no-o in exile

His Impetuous Male Highness was for his sins exiled from High Heaven and at length found his way to Izumo. Susa-no-o's exploits in this region are described in a cycle of legends which once, no doubt, formed a separate series, though now blended with the saga of the Sun Goddess. Of these stories the most interesting is that which tells of the slaying of the Dragon of Koshi, the great Eight-headed Serpent which had long ravaged the land.[7]

This is the Perseus and Andromeda legend of Japan. One day, while following a floating chopstick, Susa-no-o came upon an old man and an old woman who were lamenting the imminent fate of their daughter, doomed to be the next victim of this insatiate monster. The god learned that the dragon had eight heads and eight forked tails, and a body all inflamed with blood upon which firs and cedars grew as upon the slope of a mountain. He straightway ordered that eight large tubs of *sake* should be brewed and placed in the path of the monster. Then, as soon as the dragon had licked up the drink with his eight terrible tongues and was in a drunken stupor, the divine hero slew the beast and discovered within its tail that wonderful sword which was later, in the days of Yamato Dake, to be known as the Herb-queller. This famous double-edged weapon, still said (as noted above), to be preserved in the

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[6] *Ibid.*, p. 10.

[7] In early Japan, serpent worship was not uncommon and seems to have been indigenous, though doubtless indebted to Chinese cults and the Chinese Year Cycle.

Atsuta shrine near Nagoya, figures not a little in the subsequent story of Japan. After the battle was over, the Storm God, who, as a preliminary to the conflict, had transformed the frightened girl, Kushinado Hime, into a comb which he placed in his hair, returned her to her proper shape and with all due ceremony made her his wife. Thereupon he is said to have composed the first *tanka,* or thirty-one syllabled poem, in the language, translatable as follows:

Like high ramparts manifold,
Lo, the clouds appear:
On all sides they firm unfold
Kushinado dear,
Prison'd mine for e'er to hold
In their ramparts manifold.

Descendants of the Kami

Many other myths follow, some of them of the most extraordinary and bizarre character. The descendant of Susa-no-o in the sixth generation, known as the Great Name Possessor, was forced by the hostile kami to abdicate. Then the grandchild of the Sun Goddess, known as *Ninigi,* or Prince Rice-plenty, was despatched from Heaven to undertake the government of Japan. He was accompanied in his descent by many other gods, among them the divine ancestor of the Fujiwara family—for all the great nobility of Japan were originally kami. They brought with them the three sacred treasures which have since become the imperial insignia, the *sword,* the *mirror,* and the *magatama,* or jewel.[8] Amaterasu particularly urged her grandchild to guard the mirror, saying: "My child, when thou lookest upon this mirror, let it be as if thou wert looking upon me. Let it be with thee on thy couch, and in thy hall, and let it be to thee a holy mirror."

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[8] The Magatama was a comma-shaped stone, sometimes made of quartz or jasper. Its origin is unknown, though some have connected it with the ivory *palaoa* of the Polynesian chiefs.

It was at this time that the Floating Bridge of Heaven was withdrawn and the earth finally separated from the skies.

The three sons of Ninigi were *Prince Fire-shine, Prince Fire-climax,* and *Prince Fire-fade,* an evident allusion, as in the story of the three steps of the god Vishnu, to the three positions of the sun in its daily course. The interesting myth of Prince Fire-shine, or *Horuseri,* and Prince Fire-fade, or *Hohodemi,* recalls the classical story of Cupid and Psyche. Fire-fade, who married Rich-gem, the sea king's daughter, and lived for a time at the bottom of the sea, is no doubt the setting sun. In the legend, however, the names are explained by the story that the mother of the three princes was tested by the fire ordeal, and that Fire-shine, Fire-climax, and Fire-fade were born at the three points of the ordeal suggested by the names. On leaving the realm of the sea king, Fire-fade received the jewels of the Flow-tide and the Ebb-tide which were later on employed by the Empress Jingo in her invasion of Korea. It was the grandson of this Fire-fade who was destined to become the first Emperor of Japan and to be known to all future ages as Jimmu Tenno.

CHAPTER IV

LEGENDARY JAPAN

The Emperors

As we have seen, Japan dates the accession of her first Emperor from 660 B.C. Of course, the dates of these first rulers are absolutely conjectural. It is sufficient to note that the reign of Prince Fire-fade is extended over some 580 years, or that the first nine Emperors from Jimmu Tenno had an average reign of 109 years, to feel satisfied as to this. We have, moreover, already seen how so precise a figure as 660 B.C. was arrived at, after the Japanese had once adopted the calendric methods of their neighbors to the west.

The imperial line, whose members from this chosen point commence to defile before us, presents an unexampled phenomenon in history of unbroken continuity, going far to justify the proud words of Article I in the Japanese Constitution of 1889: "The Empire of Japan shall be ruled over by Emperors of the dynasty which has reigned in an unbroken line of descent for ages past."

But, in regard to this, two things must be remembered. The continuity which is so surprising to westerners has been in part secured by the custom of adoption and in part again by the acceptance of the fruit of secondary marriages. Moreover, the immunity from assassination and personal attack which as a general thing appears so conspicuously in the story of the Emperors is not, as we shall see, so complete as has sometimes been asserted.

The Emperors of Japan have borne various titles, of which the term *Mikado,* so frequently used outside of Japan is the one least used in Japan itself, except occasionally in poetry. The word *Mi-ka-do* is literally "August-gate-way," and is equivalent to such a term as Sublime Porte, employed to designate the Government of Turkey. To speak of the Emperor of Japan personally as the Mikado is something like addressing the President of the United States as Mr. White House. The most usual term is *Tenno* ('Heaven King'). Other terms, such as *Tenshi* ('Son of Heaven') and *Heika* ('Foot of the Throne') are not uncommon. It should be remembered that the permanent name for an Emperor is not attained until after his death. Thus the great Emperor who died in 1912 was during his reign known as Mutsuhito, but is now enrolled among the immortals under the canonical name of Meiji Tenno.

The son of Prince Fire-fade had four sons, of whom the youngest, Yamato Iware, canonized after his death as Jimmu Tenno, became the traditional first Emperor of Japan on February 11, 660 B.C.

Jimmu Tenno

There is without doubt a considerable amount of truth embedded in the narratives of the *Kojiki* and the *Nihongi,* but, as matters stand, it is well-nigh impossible to distinguish the historical from the fabulous. We may well imagine that the reported descent from Heaven upon Mount Kirishima in Kyushu represents a real invasion of that island from the south, possibly from the Malay Archipelago. Prince Iware's father was known as Fukiayezu ('Unfinished Thatch'), because the "parturition house,"[1] to which his mother retired was not completed at the time of his birth. When Iware was about forty-five or fifty years of age, he, with his three elder brothers, engaged in the expedition which carried him from Kyushu to Yamato on the main island. As the principle of ultimogeniture, rather than that of primogeniture, prevailed at this time, Iware was considered the heir. Two of the four brothers died before the expedition started and the eldest during the campaign. The people against whom the invaders fought are described as being, like themselves, descendants of Izanagi and Izanami, only of an inferior sort. As long as Iware's army was marching eastward, it was discovered that things did not go well. They had reached the mouth of the Yodo River, called by Iware *Naniwa* ('the Wave Swift'?), in memory of the stormy seas he had passed on his way from Hyuga. This was near the site of the present city of Osaka, from which one may survey the scene of so much of this early history. It is interesting to-day to look down from the citadel height upon the sea and land over which these pioneers of empire fought their way. One thinks of the pilot who is said to have approached them riding on a tortoise and who guided them through the perilous channel between Shikoku and Awaji. One looks down upon the Sea of Chinu where Iware's eldest brother, Itsuse, washed his many wounds and gave to the spot the name of Blood Lagoon. Itsuse, too late for himself, confessed: "It is not right for me, an august child of the Sun Goddess, to fight facing the sun." In imagination one sees the coming of the Sun Goddess to Iware, as Venus of old came to Æneas, to point out that if he would gain victory he must fight in the direction of the solar course. So she sent him as a guide the famous "Eight-hand Crow" (mentioned both in the *Kojiki* and the *Nihongi*), to point out the right way towards Yamato. It is probable that this bird, the *Yang-wu*, or *Yata-garasu*, often called "the Three-legged Crow," is a solar symbol added to the story from Chinese sources.[2] It must not be confused with the golden-plumaged kite which is represented as a little later perching on the end of Prince Iware's bow and dazzling the foe. In any case, Iware learned here the principle of "Westward the course of empire takes its way," reorganized his plan of campaign, and eventually won for himself a kingdom.

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[1] The "parturition house" in which the late Emperor Meiji was born is shown in the Imperial Palace grounds at Kyoto.

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[2] *See* N. Gordon Munro, "Some Origins and Survivals," *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, 1909.

Many are the exploits recorded of this period of struggle and adventure. During much of the time the invaders had to support themselves by agriculture and fishing, but there were also dangers from man to be foreseen and overcome. There were the cunning plots of the pit warriors, the risks to be run from Ukashi, the great Bear who assailed them on the mountain, the deadly vapors which wrapped them around as with clouds of poison gas. But the victory was at last so far assured that Iware built his palace at Kashiwara, not far from the present Kyoto, and so inaugurated the long line of the Emperors of Nippon.

Jimmu, as we may now call him, is said to have reigned for 75 years and to have died at the age of 127 or 137 years, according as we prefer the authority of the *Kojiki* or that of the *Nihongi*. His tomb remains in the conquered province of Yamato, northeast of Mount Unebi, and is visited annually on April 3 by the imperial envoys. But his date of accession, February 11, is the day observed as the birthday of the Empire, if not of the nation itself.

The successors of Jimmu Tenno

The reigns which follow immediately upon that of Jimmu Tenno have quite manifestly but little basis in history proper. They are padded out to fill in the space permitted by the Great Cycle mentioned above. Indeed the reign of one of the rulers in this list runs according to accepted chronology beyond the century. The succession is generally from father to son, but not necessarily to the eldest son. The choice was apparently made by the Emperor himself, after the Chinese fashion. The heir-apparent was known as the *Taishi* ('Great Son'). In the beginning the Emperor was little more than the head of the dominant clan, but we have to note a gradual extension of authority on the part of the Yamato chieftains. Moreover, as the relatives of the Emperors increased in number, there gradually came into being the custom of dividing the lands not very unlike that of feudal times.[3] The capital was changed, with succeeding reigns, from place to place, though never, except in the case of Chuai, till the time of Nintoku, outside the province of Yamato. The two chief reasons for change were, first, the fear on the part of the living of remaining in a house which death, and supposedly the dead man, had claimed; secondly, the fact that the crown prince had, in all probability, already established his separate residence, and did not care to make his father's demise an occasion for change. The palace was called *miya* ('august house') and, as in early Semitic times, was not only palace but shrine. Here were preserved the sacred treasures which it was afterwards the province of a priesthood to guard. The word *matsuri* came to mean both government and worship. In course of time, however, one central shrine was deemed advisable, and in 4 B.C. the Princess Yamato, daughter of the Emperor Suinin, was instructed by the Sun Goddess to fix her shrine at Ise, where it has remained ever since. The high priestess of Ise was always one of the royal princesses and a virgin.

The names and dates of the first eight successors of Jimmu Tenno are as follows: *Suizei,* 549-591 B.C.; *Annei,* 548-511 B.C.; *Itoku,* 510-477 B.C.; *Kosho,* 475-393 B.C.; *Koan,* 392-291 B.C.; *Korei,* 290-215 B.C.; *Kogen,* 214-158 B.C.; *Kaikwa,* 157-98 B.C.

Of these nothing needs to be said except that in the reign of *Korei,* who was contemporary with the Great First Emperor of the Ch'in dynasty in China, tradition speaks of the arrival of the Taoist emissary, Hsu Fuh. This reputed magician came, at the will of the Emperor, with his shipload of youths and maidens, on the quest of the *elixir vitæ.* His failure prevented a return to China, so he stayed in Japan, saving, it is said, some of the volumes which had been condemned by the Burner of the

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[3] For the whole subject of early feudal arrangements, *see* K. Asakawa, *Early Institutional Life in Japan.*

Books. Murdoch asserts that some centuries later there were over seven thousand families in the neighborhood of Kawachi, experts in sericulture, who regarded themselves as descendants of the Chinese who went, willingly or unwillingly, from under the tyranny of Ch'in Shih Huang Ti.[4]

The tenth Emperor, *Sujin*, 97-30 B.C., has for us rather more substance. His name, "He Who Honors the Gods," is due to his reputation for acting as the High Priest of the nation according to a more perfect way revealed to him in a dream. Another of his titles, "the Great Civilizer," implies his connection with certain famous reforms. He is said to have established a system of taxation based on the arrow notches of the men and the finger tips of the women, that is, on the products of the chase and of the loom. In the course of this long reign occurred a formidable pestilence in which it is said that more than half the people died. Then the religious aptitudes of Sujin served the land in good stead. He built more shrines, made the proper distinctions between the greater and the lesser divinities, worshiped the "Great Deity" after the Chinese manner, and so brought Japan back to the favor of Heaven.

Suinin

Suinin succeeded his father in 29 B.C. and reigned till A.D. 70. His selection was the result of a curious use of oneiromancy on the part of Sujin. The two sons were asked to dream a dream, and whereas the elder son in his dream turned only to the east, while his younger brother "stretched a cord to the four quarters of the compass," the latter was chosen heir and the former sent to govern the land of his vision in the east. Whatever may have been the real length of Suinin's reign, it was plainly a period of great importance. Japan's first recorded expedition to foreign lands falls within its limits and we have an interesting account of how the famous minister, Taji-ma-mori, himself the son of an immigrant, sailed for the continent and brought with him the seeds of the orange. An important landmark in social progress is to be found in the official abolition of the custom of retainers following their liege lords in death. This practice, known as *junshi,* was to enable the distinguished dead to command in the underworld the services of their subjects. When the Emperor's brother, Yamato Hiko, died in 2 B.C. we are told that, following the custom, his attendants were assembled to form the *hito-bashira* ('pillar-men'), to gird the grave. They were buried alive in a circle up to the neck around the tomb and "for several days they died not, but wept and wailed day and night. At last they died and rotted. Dogs and crows gathered and ate them." Whether through the sensitiveness of the living or through grief for the dead, it was now decided to drop the practice. A shrewd head of the Potter's Guild, one *Nomi-no-sukune,* made (according to the *Nihongi,* which may, however, have been simply borrowing from Chinese ideas) the brilliant suggestion that clay figures might very well be substituted for living men in this grim business. This idea was adopted, no doubt much to the profit of the clayworker's guild. Hence the clay figurines, or *haniwa,* which are found in the old graves.[5] They resemble not a little the *ushabti* which served a similar purpose in ancient Egypt. Yet it remains to be said that, although the clay figures continued to be used until the Eighth Century, junshi as a voluntary custom did not so easily disappear. The deaths of General Nogi and his wife, on the occasion of the funeral of the Emperor Meiji in 1912, are a recent example of the profound hold this "following in death" has had upon the Japanese mind. While on the subject of Nomi-no-sukune, it may be mentioned that his fame is not solely due to the place gained at the head of the Potters' Guild. He is famous also as an early, possibly the earliest, patron of *sumo*, or Japanese wrestling. A very celebrated match is said to have taken place in the presence of the Emperor between Nomi-no-sukune and his rival, Kuehaya. Such were the rules of the gentle sport at this time that Kuehaya was brutally kicked to death without leaving a stain upon the clayworker's reputation as a sportsman.

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[4] James Murdoch, *History of Japan*, I, 103.

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[5] Dr. Y. Haga expresses to me the belief that the story of Nomi-no-sukune's substitution of clay images for living sacrifices at funerals is not based on fact. He did invent the haniwa, but not, Dr. Haga thinks, in substitution for living sacrifices. "The only book in which it is mentioned is the Nihongi, which copied it after Chinese ideas."

A particularly interesting episode of Sujin's long reign is the conspiracy against his life and the sequel of its discovery. Conspiracy against the Emperor is comparatively rare in the annals of Japan, but on this occasion the leading conspirator was the Empress' brother, Prince Saho, who had persuaded his royal sister that their relationship involved abject subjection on her part to his will. The story has certain elements of great pathos. Saho gave the Empress "the eight-times tempered" dagger with which she was to achieve her husband's murder. But at the critical moment the Emperor awoke, dreaming that a serpent was coiled about his neck. Then the unhappy lady broke down and confessed her fault. A conflict with the other conspirators followed and during the struggle and excitement the Empress was delivered of a son. She sent the baby to the Emperor and then immolated herself in the flames of her brother's burning house. Owing to the shock of the circumstances under which the young prince entered upon life, he was rendered dumb, but a beautiful story tells how, at the age of thirty, when "his beard was eight span long," the dumb prince overheard the cry of a migrating swan and burst forth in ecstatic speech. The swan was subsequently caught and became the playfellow of the grateful prince. The shrine of Izumo is said to have been remodeled to commemorate the miracle.

Prince Yamato Dake

Suinin was succeeded by Keiko, who has not much to be said for him in his own right. He was a giant in stature, the hero of a military expedition against the Kumaso, who at this time seem to have been troublesome in the south, and he certainly made sure of an heir, since he left behind him no less than eighty sons and daughters. It was one of these eighty children who, in Keiko's own lifetime, attracted the admiration and respect of the people to an extraordinary degree. This was *Yamato* Dake, as he was afterwards called, one of the romantic figures and spoiled darlings of Japanese legend. The fame of Keiko's reign is mainly due to the statesmanship of the celebrated minister, Take-no-uchi, of whom we shall hear anon, and the exploits of the "Bravest of the Yamato."

These exploits are described at length in the *Kojiki,* but here must be but briefly summarized. The first act of "valor" was the slaying of his twin brother for absenting himself from court and for marrying the maidens whom he had been sent to fetch for the Emperor. Yamato Dake's action in pulling his brother limb from limb and flinging away the offending members seems to us rather drastic, but as an act of filial (if not fraternal) piety it was considered praiseworthy. The second exploit was against the rebellious Kumaso in Kyushu. The prince disguised himself in woman's apparel which had been lent him by his aunt, concealed a dagger in his bosom, and straightway sought out the bandit chiefs in their lair. Caught off their guard by what seemed the wiles of a wanton woman, the bravoes were both of them slain. It was the second of these who, in dying, gave to his slayer the name *Yamato Dake* ('Bravest of the Yamato'), by which he has since been known. Another outlaw, Takeru, our hero slew in what seems to us a still more unsportsmanlike manner. Having "bound himself in friendship," he substituted, while bathing, a wooden sword for the outlaw's real weapon and, on emerging from the water, slew his defenceless foe. These adventures, however, form but the prelude for the ten-year-long campaign in the northeast, during which Yamato Dake pacified "the unsubmissive people of the twelve roads." In this enterprise he was again aided by his aunt, the High Priestess of the Ise shrine. Yamato Hime bestowed upon her nephew a bag containing a fire drill and the famous sword of Susa-no-o, to be known henceforth as *Kusanagi* ('the Herb-queller'). Light is thrown upon the name when we read how the enemy fired the moor, and how, in order to escape the encroaching conflagration, Yamato Dake proceeded with his sword to reap the long grass around him. Then, by means of his fire drill, he started a counter fire, after the manner of dwellers upon the prairie. The flint bag (*hiuchibu-kuro*), thus used, is regarded as the earliest progenitor of the modern *inro,* the little ornamental case worn at the Japanese girdle to serve as receptacle for medicines or for a seal. On this occasion Yamato Dake won a very notable victory over the Ainus, but thereafter he had a series of hairbreadth escapes from man, beasts, and elements, such as form almost a romance in themselves. Once, when he was crossing the waters of Yedo Bay, he angered the Sea God by speaking disrespectfully of so narrow a strait. Thereupon the sea immediately became so tempestuous as to threaten our hero with shipwreck. The situation was saved by the devoted consort of the prince, the Lady Tachibana, who cast herself into the angry waters as a sacrifice to the offended kami. Nevertheless, the heroine seems to have had sufficient leisure to spread upon the waters eight rugs of serge, eight of skin, and eight of silk. On these she drifted out of her husband's sight and to her voluntary death. The legend adds that Tachibana was drowned because she lacked faith in the power of the gods to save her. Later on, when Yamato Dake gazed from the summit of the Usui Pass upon the scene of this heroic self-oblation, he cried, *"Adzuma wa ya!"* ('Alas, my wife!'), and the district north of the pass is still to this day called Adzuma. A shrine was built upon the spot where the victim's comb was washed ashore and here Tachibana is still worshiped by the simple fishermen who beseech her aid in time of storm.

After all his escapes, Yamato Dake, like Achilles, was destined to die young and far from home. Guided by a mysterious white dog, he made his way to Mino and there aroused the anger of a mountain deity, who appeared before him in the guise of a great white boar. In the mountains he caught a chill and, suffering greatly from a wound which had been inflicted by a poisoned arrow, he at length with difficulty made his way to Ise. There, on the moor of Nobo, he died, at the untimely age of thirty-two. "I am lying," he wrote to the Emperor, "in the sweet, open fields, but I do not care for life. I regret only that I cannot appear before thee and make my report in person." It was this lofty spirit of the *samurai* which Yamato Dake left as a legacy to Japan, and which had so many brilliant exemplifications in the after time, which made his fame dear to his countrymen. Legend says that only the prince's clothes were buried where he died, since his body took the form of a white heron and flew away, first to Yamato, and thence to Heaven.

Jingo Kogo

To Seimu, son of Keiko, and his assigned fifty-nine years of rule, we need devote no space. The same might be said of the reign of Seimu's successor, Chuai, had not the fame of his warrior spouse shed about his name a kind of reflected glory. The reign which has shamelessly annexed for itself the years of Jingo's regency is not without its mysteries. Something happened about which we are more or less in the dark, which led to the removal of Chuai's capital from Yamato to the island of Kyushu. Possibly it was a choice compelled by Jingo because Kyushu was a more convenient point from which to wage war against the Kumaso. For, although Chuai was ten feet high and possessed of "a countenance of perfect beauty," he was not inclined to risk physique or beauty in martial adventuring. When the Empress announced that she had seen a vision of a land awaiting conquest towards the west and declared: "In that land is abundance of various treasures dazzling to the eye, from gold and silver downwards. I will now bestow this land upon thee," the Emperor was provokingly unresponsive. He went on playing his lute in so indifferent a manner that the kami, deeming the royal incredulity a reflection upon them who had vouchsafed the vision, punished him with death. Some kinder authorities assign him a worthier death through the instrumentality of a Kumaso arrow, but from this distance it would appear that the Empress Jingo was not unrelieved at her spouse's demise and quite ready to console herself with the assistance of the venerable Take-no-uchi, Methuselah among the statesmen of Nippon.

There was now no obstacle to the expedition against the western land. This was no other than *Chosen,* which was then divided into three kingdoms, after having been ruled over a thousand years by the dynasty supposedly founded in 1122 B.C. by the Chinese statesman, Chi Tzu. For the first time a Japanese fleet was fitted out for foreign service, but, ere starting, it was necessary for Jingo to use divination in order to discover whether success was assured. Making a fishing line from the thread in her garments and fashioning her needle into a fishhook, she first challenged the future on the result of her fishing. This proved so successful that she ventured again to try her luck by bathing in the sea. She said: "If I am to go, may my hair be parted by the waves evenly on either side." So it happened, and fortune was known to be in a smiling mood. Thus, under divine auspices, the Armada sailed upon the Island Empire's first demonstration against the continent—her first experiment in the use of sea power. Legend speaks of the aid which was contributed to the gallant adventure by the fishes and other denizens of the deep. The mountain fairies had provided wood and iron for the ships and the grass fairies hemp for the sails. Isora, moreover, the God of the Seashore, had brought the famous jewels of the Flood-tide and the Ebb-tide. With these last in her girdle, Jingo sailed, till at last the Korean hills loomed into sight. Then she hurled the Ebb-tide jewel into the sea and straightway the Korean ships were stranded. Again, as soon as the enemy commenced to fight upon the land which had been thus miraculously exposed, the Flood-tide jewel was in like manner employed to sweep the foe to destruction. The expedition was most abundantly successful. Jingo returned with eighty spoil-laden ships and with the promise of the Korean king that "until the sun rose in the west, till the rivers flowed backwards, and the stones on earth became stars in heaven," he and his successors would continue to pay tribute to Japan.

It must be added, as a concession to historic conscientiousness, that with regard to this entire episode there is room for considerable misgiving. The Japanese chronicles have quite probably magnified the importance of the adventure, even if it occurred at all. Local raids along the coast were, of course, rather frequent. Aston tells us that "no less than twenty-five descents by Japanese on the Sinra coast are mentioned in Korean history in the first five centuries of the Christian era." But it is impossible to identify any of these with the expedition of Jingo Kogo to which the date of A.D. 200, or thereabouts has been assigned. Some have thought that only the date is wrong and that the event actually gave emphasis to the term "Queen's Country" applied to Japan by the Chinese. Hara, for example, thinks something of the sort is possible in the Fourth Century. Jingo herself may possibly be alluded to in the Chinese tradition of the Empress who was an accomplished magician, always attended by a thousand ladies and a single male servant who represented her before the people. In any case, Jingo was famous enough to receive deification as one of the kami of the sea, and her name has been associated immortally with the traditions of the Japanese navy.

Ojin and his sons

The great Empress is said to have lived nearly seventy years after the conquest of Shiragi, and gave way to her son Ojin in A.D. 269. There was some little conflict over the succession, as the Emperor Chuai had left two elder sons and Ojin was not born till ten months after the death of his reputed father. But it was announced that the birth had been miraculously retarded to permit the successful completion of the Korean adventure. The influence of the Prime-Minister, Take-no-uchi, was equal, moreover, to the task of sustaining the young prince's claims. Indeed, so popular was Jingo, that in the belief that her martial ardor must have strongly influenced Ojin's prenatal life, the prince was subsequently canonized as *Hachiman* ('Lord of the Eight Banners'), the Japanese God of War.[6] Many centuries later, he was chosen by the Minamoto family as their patron deity, and splendid temples in his honor were erected at Kamakura and Kyoto. To him the Japanese soldiers still offer their prayers when going forth to battle.

The actual reign of Ojin was insignificant, except that certain *be* ('guilds'), such as the Fishermen's Guild, were at this time established. When he died in 310, there broke out (if that is not too strong a term) a curious controversy between the three sons. Ojin had designated the youngest as Tai-shi, or heir apparent, but it was the eldest who coveted the honor. He was accordingly slain by his less ambitious brothers. These then settled down to a long-drawn-out competition in exaggerated humility and courtesy. The struggle as to which one was *not* to be Emperor lasted for over three years, each one begging the other to assume the throne. The story is told of a fisherman who took some fish to present to the Emperor that, while he was going backwards and forwards from one disclaimant to the other, his fish turned putrid. At last, to save his fraternal pride, the youngest son committed suicide. This left the second son without a rival, and so the throne became the heritage of *Nintoku,* the Sage Emperor. For all his reluctance, Nintoku enjoyed his undesired honors something over ninety years and became celebrated for the charitable consideration he displayed towards his impoverished subjects. Early in his reign he took his stand on the palace veranda at Naniwa, in the neighborhood of the modern Osaka, and surveyed the scene with dissatisfaction and pity. "We ascended," says he, "a lofty tower and looked far and wide, but no smoke arose in the land. From this we gather that the people are poor, and that in the houses there are none cooking their rice. We have heard that in the reigns of the wise sovereigns of antiquity from every one was heard the sound of songs hymning their virtue, in every house there was the ditty: 'How happy we are!'" So the Emperor remitted taxes, allowed his palace (such as it was) to become leaky and dilapidated, went about in old shoes and old clothes, and refused for three years the revenues of the land. There seems about this time to have been a period of unprecedented rain, for not only did the palace leak like a sieve, but the waters rose so far as to compel resort to human sacrifices in order to stay the flood. At last, however, prosperity returned to reward the benevolent monarch and he was able to gaze upon the multiplied evidences of peace and contentment in the land. This notwithstanding that "the starlight filtered through the decayed places and exposed the bed-mats" of the palace.

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[6] Hachiman probably owes something to Buddhism as well as Shinto coloring.

The one "fly in the ointment" of Nintoku's peace was due to the jealousy of the Empress. It appears that Nintoku's deceased brother had left him the awkward legacy of a secondary wife, the Princess Yata, with some apology for her deficiencies. These were not serious enough to prevent the

Emperor from showing much devotion to the newcomer, so much so indeed that it led to the angry Empress withdrawing from the palace. The Emperor sent one of his courtiers to remonstrate and to fetch back his "beloved spouse," but she obstinately declined to come. It was once more raining heavily and the *Kojiki* describes the poor courtier's humiliating plight as follows:

> Then upon his, without avoiding the rain, coming and prostrating himself at the front door of the palace, she on the contrary went out at the back door; and on his coming and prostrating himself at the back door of the palace, she on the contrary went out at the front door. Then, as he crept backwards and forwards on his knees in the middle of the court, the streams of water reached to his loins. Owing to a grandee being clad in a garment dyed green and with a red cord, the streams of water brushed against the red cord, and the green all changed to red color.

The handmaiden of the Empress pleaded with her august mistress for the rain-soaked courtier, but no, Kuniyori-hime continued obdurate and died unreconciled. So, a year later, the Princess Yata became Empress herself.

Associated with much of the success of Nintoku's reign is the Minister Take-no-uchi, of whom we have already made mention. His long life of some three hundred years came to an end about this time, though many have supposed that Take-no-uchi really represents an official family rather than a single individual. If an actual person, Take-no-uchi must have served under six sovereigns. He is credited with having done a good deal in the direction of limiting the autocratic powers of his royal masters. On his decease he seems to have well deserved the eulogy pronounced over him by one of the Emperors:

Thou beyond all others,
A man distant of age—
Thou beyond all others,
A man long in the land.

Take-no-uchi, depicted in long court robes over a suit of armor, with bearskin shoes and scabbard of tiger skin, and carrying the infant Ojin in his arms, is a favorite subject of Japanese art.[7]

The deaths of Nintoku and Take-no-uchi, about the close of the Fourth Century A.D., bring us to something near the threshold of authentic history.

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[7] *See* M. B. Huish, *Japan and Its Art,* p. 31.

CHAPTER V

PRIMITIVE JAPAN

Primitive culture

On the threshold of the more reliable history of Japan we find ourselves at a very convenient point at which to ask what was the manner of life among the Japanese at the close of the Fourth Century A.D. If possible, we should like to be able to distinguish between the culture which was more or less of native origin and that which had been brought from abroad.

The circumstances under which the archipelago was populated make it certain that, while some of the early culture had come from the south, there was much, also, which was continental and had come by way of Korea. It is clear that there was a more or less constant pressure of population eastward from the continent. At certain specific times, as, for example, during the reign of the tyrant Ch'in Shih Huang Ti,[1] the movement across the sea was probably accelerated. Certainly, too, after the exploit of Jingo Kogo, whatever may have been its historical magnitude, there was a much stronger flow of cultural influences from China to the archipelago.

Apart from these cultural movements, life in Japan was at this time primitive indeed. The Chinese annals of the time speak of the Japanese as *Wo* ('dwarfs'), and state that "they have neither oxen nor wild beasts; they tattoo their faces in patterns varying with their rank; they wear garments woven in one piece; they have spears, bows and arrows tipped with stone or iron. They wear no shoes, they are addicted to strong drink, are polygamous, law-abiding and long-lived."[2]

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[1] *See* H. H. Gowen and J. W. Hall, *An Outline History of China*, p. 90.

Some of the above characteristics have already appeared in our account of Japan. Of others there is ample evidence. For example, as to drinking, we have the following poetical brag put into the mouth of the Emperor Ojin: "I have become intoxicated with the august liquor distilled by Susukori. I have become intoxicated with the soothing liquor, with the smiling liquor."

The references given above to the use of needle and thread by Jingo show that some knowledge of sewing existed, but it is after the date of Jingo, namely, in 289, that we read of the coming of Achi with his weavers and carpenters and with the sewing women who were subsequently formed into a guild of their own.

The food in early times was plain and simple, consisting largely of fish and the "five grains." *Sake* (rice spirit) was, as we have seen, in high favor, from the time of Susa-no-o downwards. In the matter of clothing the early Japanese employed the bark of the paper mulberry and other plants. Cotton was not introduced till the Ninth Century. Unless the legend of Tachibana contains an anticipation, silk seems to have been known as early as the beginning of the Christian era. Men lived in houses of extreme simplicity and fragility. Even the castles, so-called, were built so rapidly that they must have been but flimsy structures. The material was wood, and floors and chimneys were unwonted luxuries. There were few ornaments, either of the house or of the person, beyond the emblematic jewels, the *magatama* and *kudatama*. Weapons and implements were of the most primitive sort, and not much unlike those used by the Ainus. The first boats seem to have been nothing but dugouts, but there was considerable advance during the period which has been under consideration, probably stimulated by the expedition of Jingo Kogo. The story of the ship, *Karano,* of the time of Ojin, is particularly interesting. Twenty-six years after the launching of this vessel the superannuated timbers were burned for the drying of salt, and five hundred baskets of the salt were sent to the provinces with an order for the construction of five hundred new ships. The building of these led to the sending for more shipbuilders from Korea, since here lived at the time the foremost builders of the Orient. They came, and in course of time established themselves as one of the most powerful guilds in Japan. The last timber of the old *Karano* was fashioned into a lute and one of the Emperors wrote the little poem which Mr. Aston has translated as follows:

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[2] R. P. Porter, *The Rise of a Modern Power*, p. 3.

> The ship Karano was burned for salt:
> Of the remainder a koto was made.
> When it is played on one hears the sayasaya
> Of the summer trees, brushing against, as they stand,
> The rocks of the mud harbor, the harbor of Yura.[3]

The introduction of Chinese learning came slowly. At the end of the Third or Fourth century came a Korean, *Atogi,* who brought from the King of Kudara two fine horses for the Emperor and also sufficient knowledge of the Chinese classics to gain the position of tutor to the crown prince. After him followed *Wani,* a more competent scholar, who is said to have introduced several of the famous books of Chinese literature. Several of the refinements of civilization seem to have been discovered at the same time through similar channels, including such diverse things as the art of hawking and the secret of preserving ice.

The classes of Japanese society at this time were three in number. There were first the *Shimbetsu,* or descendants of the old *kami* ('gods'), all of them chiefs of divine ancestry, though they lacked political authority. Next came the *Kuobetsu,* or descendants of the Emperors, from Jimmu Tenno downwards. Practically, this was the class of highest rank and represented the families which had conquered the older Yamato chiefs. Thirdly, came the *Bambetsu,* or common people, representing those descended from foreigners and immigrants. Beneath all these was a considerable slave class known as *nuhi,* descendants of captives taken in war and prisoners who had been subjected to slavery as a penalty. The institutions of society were in general tribal and the head of each *uji* ('clan') had well-nigh absolute authority over its members. In this patriarchal period, before the Seventh Century, there remained some organic unity of the family and the nation as a whole, which was later, in the bureaucratic and feudal periods, only sentimental.[4] Then came the idea of the *State.*

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[3] F. Brinkley, *History of the Japanese People,* p. 100.

The Emperor in early days, and until the reforms of the Seventh Century, was rather among the other chiefs *primus inter pares* than a sovereign head. His chief duties were to conduct the ceremonies of religion as the *pontifex maximus* of the nation, to declare war, and to establish or abolish the *uji* ('clans') and *be* ('guilds'). In the two former of these respects, the imperial prerogatives have, in theory, hardly altered for two thousand years.

Religion

The religion of primitive Japan was a simple form of combined naturism and spiritism known as Shinto,[5] two Chinese words which mean "The Way of the Gods" and correspond with the Japanese term, *Kami no michi.* It is probable that an earlier worship was displaced by the religion of the invaders, if we may give credence to the legend that the authority of Ohokuni, son of Susa-no-o, in Izumo, was superseded by that of the Sun Goddess. The abdication was agreed upon, provided that a shrine be built to his honor at Kizuki, and hither, in the god month, all the gods are still supposed to assemble for the discussion of human affairs. At this shrine the priestesses still dance the dance they performed before Amaterasu in her cave refuge.

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[4] *See* Kanichi Asakawa, *Early Institutional Life in Japan.*

[5] W. G. Aston, *Shinto* (London, 1907). The reader is referred to this and other works on Shinto for a more adequate picture than is given in the text. It will suffice here to direct attention to the fact that in its absence of blood offerings (at least within historic times), its clumsy cosmogony, its purificatory ceremonies, its small attention to prayer for specific things, and its general tendency to cheerfulness, the primitive religion had a powerful influence upon the political history of Japan.

The Shinto of early days, of which we learn chiefly through the two classics, *Kojiki* and *Nihongi,* must of course be carefully distinguished from the mixed Shinto of the Ninth Century and from the idealized Shinto of the Eighteenth Century. There was a belief in *kami,* who might be nature divinities, such as Amaterasu, or gods of abstract qualities, or deified ancestors, such as Jingo and Ojin. The ancestral deity of the Emperors was communicated with at the Great Shrine of Ise, whither the imperial envoys went to make report seven times a year. At all times of national peril special petitions were here made, as at the time of the threatened Mongol invasion, and as lately as 1914, when war was declared against Germany. The kami were supposed to possess an invisible soul, or double, called the *mitama* ('august jewel') and there was also preserved in the shrine a *shintai* ('god-body') represented by a mirror, sword, tablet, or some such object. The temple was known as a *miya* ('august house') and, prior to Buddhist times, was quite plain and unadorned. It was approached by a gateway called a *torii,* a word which, in allusion to the place occupied by the cock in the Amaterasu myth, has been by some interpreted as a "fowl perch." But, more probably, the word is ultimately derived from India and signifies merely a doorway.

Since worship and government were described by the same term, *Matsurigoto* (literally 'festival thing'), the Emperor was regarded from the first as High Priest. Several other classes of priests, however, existed in early times.

These had charge of the recitation of the *norito* (ritual prayers), the superintendence of divination by use of the scorched shoulder blade of the deer, or of pieces of tortoise shell, the carrying out of the Great Purification, and the performance of the annual festivals. The great Imperial Festival was the *Dai-sai,* at the accession of the sovereign. There were also the *Shinjo-sai,* annually on November 23, when the Emperor partook of the first rice and presented some to the kami, and the *Kanname-sai,* on October 17, or thanksgiving offering at Ise to the Ancestry God. One of the most distinctive of all the Shinto rites was the Great Purification, *O-Harahi,* by means of which at the new year, or in former times twice in the year, the people individually rid themselves of all pollutions contracted during the past six months. The sins were transferred to pieces of paper, cut into the semblance of the human form, and these were taken out to sea and sunk beneath the waves. The rite corresponds to the sending away of the sins of the congregation, conveyed to the scapegoat, in the ritual of the Jewish Day of Atonement. A favorite Shinto exercise of piety, going back to an unknown date, was the going on a pilgrimage, a practice which was not only a pious devotion but also a healthful piece of pedestrianism with much educational result. Certain mountains and routes have always been favored and are supposed to bring much merit to the pilgrims.

The ethics of Shinto have often been decried or even described as nonexistent, but the statement is an exaggeration of the old-time Japanese claim to moral superiority to their neighbors. Nitobe says, nevertheless: "It seems to me that the weakness of Shinto as a religion lies in the nonrecognition of human frailty, or sin." In the old norito the references to sin are to ritual rather than to moral offences, but there can be little doubt that in early times there was a certain amount of cruelty and bloodshed associated with the social customs sanctioned by primitive religion.

Human sacrifices seem to have been offered to stop an unusual rainfall; the retainers of a dead lord were, at least occasionally, buried alive to "gird the grave" of their master; and foundation sacrifices were made not infrequently to secure the stability of a wall or a bridge. One of the professors of the Tokyo Imperial University has recently announced the discovery of sixteen skeletons, grim relics of these ancient barbarities, beneath an old castle wall.[6]

It may be convenient to recall here that the history of Shinto has four successive phases, as follows: (1) Primitive Shinto, the type represented prior to the introduction of Buddhism in the Sixth Century; (2) Ryobu, or Shinto as mixed with Buddhism, the form prevalent from the Ninth Century onwards; (3) The Revival of Pure Shinto, in the Eighteenth Century, under the influence of Motoori and Mabuchi; (4) Modern official Shinto, with the temples controlled by the government bureaus, namely, the Jingi Jimukyoku ('Bureau of Ecclesiastical Affairs') and the Kyobusho ('Ecclesiastical Department'). The former of these was established in 1868, the latter in 1872. In 1849 there was a movement under Kurozomi to teach Shintoism as a monotheism, with Amaterasu as the Supreme Deity of Life and Light. At the present time the official policy is to present Shinto as a political philosophy, inculcating loyalty to the throne, rather than as a religion.[7]

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[6] *Time,* Nov. 16, 1925.

[7] D. C. Holtom, "The Political Philosophy of Modern Shinto," *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan,* Vol. XLIX, Part 2 (1922).

CHAPTER VI

THE PROTOHISTORIC AGE

The Fifth Century

The story of the Fifth Century in Japan has by some been described as the protohistoric period. It at least begins to assume all the exterior characteristics of probability. The ages of monarchs and statesmen drop to something more like the normal span of life, and the incidents narrated are such as to invite comparison with happenings in other lands. Yet the dates are still uncertain, and we must come down as far as 461, or still more precisely to 475, before we are able to verify anything by comparing it with the more reliable annals of China and Korea. Even the names and the personalities are by no means fixed beyond the possibility of doubt, and it is open for the critical historian to suspect the identity of not a few. For example we find Murdoch [1] suggesting that Yuryaku, to whom is assigned the date 457, is the same person as Muretsu, whose date is given as 499. This is largely because of the disbelief that so much wickedness and viciousness could be duplicated in two rulers so near to one another chronologically. Unfortunately, the whole record of this era is one of strife and vice, civil tumult, low morals, murder, and treachery. In *Anko* we have the almost unique instance of a murdered Emperor, but other infamies are very far from being unique. For the sake of Japan, there is some comfort in the considerable probability that some of this material has really been purloined from Chinese sources. The *Nihongi* certainly stands convicted of introducing speeches which were originally, if at all, delivered by Chinese emperors and ministers. It would, therefore, be a happy "saving of face" for the Japanese if a more critical history were to reduce the number of tyrants to whom the title is applicable of the Nero of Japan. And the Chiens and Chou Hsins of Chinese ill-fame are so much farther back in the story of mankind that we may quite reconcile ourselves to the unsavory records of Yuryaku and Muretsu being but the reflection of a cruder and more primitive age. But, alas, it has to be confessed that the period, even when most leniently construed, offers few evidences of any high conception of either civilization or morals.

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[1] James Murdoch, *History of Japan,* I, 84 ff.

Richu and his successors

The sage, Nintoku, was succeeded by several sons in turn, but not one of them rose to his father's stature, and rebellion of one brother against another in mortal feud was the rule rather than the exception. *Richu* began to reign in 400, but we are told little that is interesting about him, unless it be that the tattooing, or branding, which had once been a matter of protective mimicry among the Ainus, was now used for the punishment of offenders among the Japanese. Richu at first only tattooed those who were convicted of treason, but later he and his successors branded the members even of such guilds as that of the horse-keepers to mark their calling. This particular practice, however, was presently condemned by a special revelation from the god Izanagi, when the Emperor was hunting on Awaji. In the reign of the Emperor Yuryaku a man was tattooed whose dog had made depredations in the imperial henroost.

Richu's brother, *Hansho*, or Hanzei, is of equal unimportance to us, though it is noted that about this time, some say as early as 405, historiographers were chosen to keep the official records. That these were not yet free from a certain *naïveté* is apparent from the specimen which informs us concerning the Emperor: "At his birth his teeth were all of one bone, and his appearance beautiful." The note, again, that Japan's earliest earthquake occurred in 416 is evidently due to the inexperience of the annalist.

A slight interval followed the death of Hansho, and his brother, known to us as *Inkyo,* was so modest that he was with difficulty persuaded to accept the vacant throne. The story is told that the Lady Onakatsu, afterwards Empress, was responsible for his eventual decision. She took advantage of the opportunity to come to his chamber with a bucket of water, and there pleaded that he would grant the petition of his ministers. Though she was immediately thrust out into the bitter cold of a January morning, the heroic lady continued her entreaties until the water which had been spilled froze upon her arms. Then at last she fainted, and the reluctant prince out of gallantry was compelled to yield. It is to be regretted that the new Emperor did not show his appreciation of this devotion more permanently, for a little later we find Inkyo engaged in an intrigue with Oto, the Lady Onakatsu's younger sister, and the outraged wife attempted to commit suicide. As to the sequel, some light is vouchsafed when we read in the Chronicles the yearly record thereafter that "the Emperor made a progress to Chinu." Chinu was, it must be observed, the place where the fascinating Oto was established. Inkyo was supposed to be afflicted with an incurable disease but was eventually cured by the timely arrival of a clever physician from Korea. The most interesting and possibly the most important event of the reign was the settlement of the longstanding dispute as to clan names which had been agitating some of the great families. There were evidently many claims to membership in the various *uji* which were false. The matter was adjudicated by recourse to a trial by ordeal, an appeal to the justice of Nature of which we have many examples in Japan.[2] Each claimant was required to plunge his hand into a jar of boiling water, and those who came out of the test uninjured were declared to have told the truth. So "the houses and surnames were spontaneously ordered, and there was no longer any one who falsified them." It is possible, however, that the increasing use of written documents helped even more than the virtue of the ordeal to do away with disputes about clan connections.

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[2] On ordeals in Japan *see* Percival Lowell, *Occult Japan,* and B. H. Chamberlain, *Things Japanese,* "Fire Walking."

Anko (454–456)

Inkyo left two sons who, at the first opportunity, broke with precedent by commencing a struggle for the throne. The elder brother, Prince Karu, encountered the opposition of the Court on account of a *liaison* with his full sister. Now marriage between half brothers and sisters was quite *en règle* up to the time of the Taikwa reforms of 645, but unions between full-blooded brothers and sisters, such as once prevailed in Persia and Egypt, were strongly discountenanced. The guilty relation was revealed to the court by the diviners, who obtained their conclusions from the freezing of the royal soup. The sinner, together with his illicit bride, then committed *seppuku*,[3] and paved the way for the accession of the younger brother, known to us as *Anko*. The new reign, thus bloodily inaugurated, did not long belie its sinister beginnings. The Emperor's uncle, a son of the Emperor Nintoku, was foully murdered and the widow was raised to the dignity of Empress. But a terrible Nemesis followed the deed, for the son of Okusaka, a child but seven years old, overheard from the imperial criminals themselves an account of his father's assassination. He bided his time, and then, stealing upon the unsuspecting Anko, stabbed him to death. What material for a great tragedy, had ancient Japanese literature taken that direction!

The younger brother of the slaughtered Anko, Ohatsuse

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[3] Seppuku is the classical term for self-execution by opening the abdomen. *Hara-kiri* is a vulgarism which should be avoided. For the details of this ceremonial form of suicide *see* Lord Redesdale, *Tales of Old Japan*, Appendix.

The Japanese Nero

by name, became Emperor in 457, and unfortunately lived until 479. In the infamous record of the age he is known as *Yuryaku.* Murdoch speaks of him as "masterful and mettlesome" and likens him to Richard III rather than to Nero, but it seems rather a reflection upon the not wholly spotless fame of the English sovereign. Immediately on his accession, Yuryaku proceeded to "make assurance double sure, and take a bond of fate" by murdering his two older brothers. Then he settled down to show the kind of character he had brought to the opportunities of the throne. His reign is one long record of wanton cruelty such as few national stories are able to parallel. Here are two or three to which the Chronicles give prominence. One affords a parallel to the Biblical story of David and Uriah, with the Japanese Uriah, Tosa, despatched to Korea, while Yuryaku takes possession of his wife. In another story a chief named Shinki was ill-advised enough to build a house the roof of which resembled too closely that of the imperial palace. The Emperor at once sent his soldiers to burn down the offending edifice and Shinki himself only obtained forgiveness from his irascible lord by presenting him with "a white dog clothed with cloth and led by a string." When a certain concubine was caught in an intrigue, Yuryaku "was greatly enraged, and had the four limbs of the unhappy woman stretched upon a tree. The tree was placed over a cupboard, which was set on fire and she was burned to death." At a great feast a leaf fell into the wine cup which a maid servant was holding before the monarch. Yuryaku straightway felled the girl to the floor and was with difficulty restrained from cutting off her head. Still another story tells of the carpenter Mane whom the Emperor encountered shaping timbers with his ax. Such was the craftsman's skill, that the line to which he was hewing was never once overpassed. Yuryaku admired and questioned, and, in his turn, Mane boasted that nothing could ever disturb the steadiness of his hand and nerve.

Yuryaku thought otherwise, and immediately brought his dancing girls upon the scene. Then he ordered them to wrestle before the boastful carpenter. Alas, poor Mane, like Merlin under the wiles of Vivien, was weaker than he knew. For one moment he lost his poise and was immediately condemned to death. Before, however, it was too late, the Emperor relented. A messenger, mounted on a black horse—"the black horse of Kai"—arrived just in time to save the wretched braggart from the sword of the executioner. Then the carpenter turned poet and fabricated the following tanka:

Black as the night
  Was the horse of Kai.
Had they waited to
  Saddle him, my life was lost,
O horse of Kai.

It is pleasant to pick out from such grim narratives stories of a somewhat different sort. Once the Emperor came upon a beautiful girl who was washing clothes on the banks of a stream. Struck with her beauty, the monarch bade her not take a husband, since he would send for her to come to the palace. The woman relied upon the imperial word and remained unmarried till she was eighty years old. Then, lean and withered, she went to the palace to protest her faithfulness. Yuryaku, under the circumstances, could do nothing less than send away the Japanese Griselda with some compensatory gift. The tale is not without its charm, in spite of the chronological difficulties which a critical faculty will at once detect. A still more pleasing anecdote tells how the Emperor, with a view to the encouragement of the silk industry, once ordered Sukaru to collect silkworms from all over the country. Now the word for silkworm is *kahiko,* and at the same time the two words *kahi ko* mean "to nurture little ones." So the minister, not unnaturally, made a large collection of babies which he straightway presented to the astonished Emperor.

It seems that one may assign to Yuryaku's credit that he was genuinely interested in the arts and crafts. Under this "Emperor of great wickedness" the arts certainly flourished. One of the very earliest of pictorial artists was Shinki, who came over from China during this reign. Mulberry trees were cultivated in the provinces which were suitable, and weavers, potters, saddlers, and other skilled artisans brought over from the continent. Literature, too, received its due meed of appreciation and the Emperor himself extemporized a poem on the dragon fly which devoured the gadfly which had been annoying the imperial steed.

Urashima

In connection with literature it is interesting to note that the famous legend of Urashima, the Rip van Winkle story of Japan, belongs to this reign. "In the twenty-first year of Yuryaku," says the Chronicle, "the boy Ura-no-shima, of Midsunoe, in the district of Yosa, in the province of Tango, a descendant of the divinity Shimanemi, went to Elysium in a fishing-boat." Lured into the sea by a turtle which changed itself into the shape of a beautiful girl, Urashima was taken down beneath the waves to Horai San, the land of immortal life. There he married the Sea God's daughter and lived long in a state of great felicity. But the story, which is the Japanese Cupid and Psyche as well as the Rip van Winkle, continues. Urashima had a fit of homesickness and was permitted to return to earth on condition that he would not open the casket committed to his care. Alas, arriving at his native village and finding all things changed, he opened the casket and was at once transformed into a wrinkled and decrepit old man. Meanwhile, the elixir of life, which the casket had contained, floated away like a cloud. Many a poem has expressed Urashima's dismay at finding that—as in the case of the Seven Sleepers—life had passed as in a dream.

But where is his native hamlet?
  Strange hamlets line the strand.
Where is his mother's cottage?
  Strange cots rise on either hand.[4]

The truth of the story is attested beyond all dispute by the fact that the tomb of Urashima, with his fishing line and other relics, is still at Kanagawa, where Commodore Perry made his treaty with Japan in 1854. It has been suggested, however, that since the word for Dragon Palace, *ryugu,* is not unlike the name of the Ryukyu group of islands, the legend may conceal behind its romantic story some tale of adventure amid the islands to the south.

Big Basket and Little Basket

The son of Yuryaku, Seinei, reigned only five years and left no descendants. In consequence, a search had to be undertaken for some one who might legitimately claim the legacy of the Sun Goddess. Investigation at length brought to light two grandsons of the Emperor Richu, who had been saved from the clutches of Yuryaku by faithful retainers and had lived in obscurity as cowherds for a quarter of a century. They were identified by a curious dance, only to be acquired at court, which the ambassadors saw them rendering for the benefit of a crowd of villagers. The two lads were known as *Oke* and *Woke,* that is, "Big Basket" and "Little Basket." The news of the great discovery was carried by the swiftest messengers to the Emperor Seinei, who exclaimed with joy: "Heaven in its love has bestowed upon me two children." The boys were at once brought to the capital and, after the fashionable dispute as to which should be permitted to yield in favor of the other, Woke, the younger, was chosen heir. He is known in history as the Emperor *Kenso.* It is in this reign that we first come upon the loyal exclamation, *Banzai* ('May the Emperor live ten thousand years!'), an expression corrupted from the Chinese, *Wan-sui* ('Ten thousand years'), and corresponding to such acclamations as "*Vive la France!*" or "God save the King!" Kenso seems after all to have been hardly worth the finding, since he died in 487, after only two years reign. He then made way for his elder brother Oke, who is known as *Ninken.* While the two brothers were alive they found an old woman who remembered where their murdered father had been buried. With this aid the two princes were enabled to fulfill the requirements of filial piety. The old woman was thereupon rewarded by being given free access to the royal palace. As her age was full of infirmities, a rope was stretched from her cottage to the Emperor's chamber, with a bell at the end, so that she could at once guide her halting steps and give notice of her approach. Ninken (488-498) reigned nearly eleven years and did nothing which to us is of particular interest. He then did considerably worse, by leaving at his death the throne to the son who became notorious to posterity as *Muretsu.* It has been already mentioned that Murdoch is inclined to suspect that Yuryaku and Muretsu are one and the same. For the credit of the Mikadoship we may well hope that the hypothesis is correct, since one of Muretsu's kind is amply sufficient. Others have supposed that Muretsu has been confused with King Malta, of Kudara, in Korea, which is rather a reflection upon Korea. In any case, the stories of this monster's cruelties force the historian for a while to sup on horrors. The plucking out of a man's finger nails in order that he might be forced to dig clams with bleeding and mutilated hands, is but a mild specimen of Muretsu's enormities. Like Dante, on a certain occasion in the *Inferno,* we may be content to glance and pass quickly by. Yet there seems to be some note of advancing refinement in the statement of the *Nihongi* respecting *Muretsu:* "His cushions were of brocade, and many of his garments were of damask and fine white silk." Alas, that the silkworms should have had to spin for such as Muretsu!

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[4] *See* B. H. Chamberlain. *Japanese Poetry,* p. 11; W. G. Aston, *Japanese Literature,* p. 39.

The next reigns, namely, those of *Ankan* (534-535), and *Senkwa* (536-539), are both short and quite barren of interest.

To sum up the history of the century and a half included in this chapter, we may observe that there was apparently on the part of the Emperors a tendency to magnify their office. Their elevation over the heads of the other clans seems to become much more marked. The doctrine already appears that "of the entire surface of the soil, there is no part which is not a royal grant in fee; under the wide heavens there is no place which is not royal territory."

CHAPTER VII

THE COMING OF BUDDHISM

Japan and Anglo-Saxondom

It is impossible not to be impressed with the close parallel which exists in the Sixth Century of our era between the history of the Japanese archipelago and that of the island group similarly situated off the western coasts of Europe. The parallel has already been suggested by the correspondence between the Yamato and Kumaso tribes who had driven the Ainus into the north with the Teutonic tribes from the continent of Europe who had in like manner driven the Celtic Britons into the fastnesses of Wales and Cornwall. But now we are struck by the fact that what the introduction of Christianity was to Saxon England in the time of Ethelbert of Kent, the bringing of Buddhism by the monks of Shaka was to Japan about a generation earlier. The government of Japan at the time was somewhat more homogeneous than that of the Saxon kingdoms, but in other respects the parallel is singularly close. In both cases most momentous changes were brought about in the respective countries by adoption from the continent of a new faith, with results literary, artistic, economic, and political, as well as religious, such as in either case could never have been predicted.

Prince Siddhartha, son of Suddhodhana, chief of the Çakyas, whence named *Çakya Muni* ('the Sage of the Çakyas'), known to the Japanese as Shaka, was born in the Lumbini grove, not far from Kapilavastu, on the borders of Nepal, about the year 557 B.C. The Japanese have, more

Gautama Buddha

or less persistently, given the date as 1026 B.C., while the Burmese Buddhists seem to prefer 623 B.C. Brought up to a life of luxury, and fenced by his father from every touch of ill, Siddhartha had, at the age of thirty, the "four seeings," divinely ordered, of old age, sickness, death, and the ascetic life. Soon after he made the Great Renunciation, struck with the feeling of the impermanence and misery of the sense life. He secretly stole away from his wife, Yasodhara, and his son, Rahula, to seek peace among the ascetics of Benares. Failing in this he betook himself to solitary meditation under the Bo-tree and, after intense spiritual struggle, attained illumination, or right comprehension. From this time Gautama (the family name of Prince Siddhartha) was the Buddha, that is, the one who had attained knowledge. He set forth to preach the doctrine of "the impermanence of all individual existence, the universality of suffering inherent in individuality, the non-reality of an ego-principle."[1] This was presently expanded into the teaching of the Four Noble Truths, which are, first, the truth that consciousness is sorrow; secondly, that the cause of sorrow is desire; thirdly, that the way out of sorrow is Nirvana; and fourthly, that the path to Nirvana is by the Noble Eightfold Way of Right Belief, Right Resolve, Right Speech, Right Behavior, Right Occupation, Right Effort, Right Contemplation, and Right Concentration. Gautama died about 487 (or 477) B.C. and the Buddhist Canon was fixed at a council held at Rajagriha in the same year, and at the Council of Vaisali just a century later. Certain changes gradually came over the teaching and the practice and by the time Buddhism had found its way to northwest India, the two systems of *Mahayana* (the 'Great Vehicle'), and *Hinayana* (the 'Little Vehicle'), were well developed. Hinayana, the more conservative type, was the Buddhism which passed southward into Ceylon, Burma, and Siam. Mahayana, a system which was considerably influenced by western and even Christian ideas, was the type which passed through central Asia on its way to the Orient. As it was certainly Mahayana Buddhism which eventually entered Japan, in spite of Brinkley's assertion to the contrary, it is well to remember that in most essential respects it had departed far from the Indian form of the faith. Indian Buddhism was atheistic, whereas Mahayana was theistic; Indian Buddhism held that every man must save himself, whereas Mahayana gave hope of salvation through the merits of the Bodhisattvas, or future Buddhas; Indian Buddhism had an absolute form of Nirvana as the goal of life, whereas Mahayana cultivated the doctrine of the Western Paradise; finally, Indian Buddhism made the *arhat,* or saint, the ideal, whereas Mahayana encouraged men to aspire to Buddhahood.

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[1] *See* A. K. Reischauer, *Studies in Japanese Buddhism*, p. 25.

The pathway of Buddhism to the Far East is fairly clear. Under King Açoka, of the Mauryan dynasty, about 272 B.C., the religion of Gautama became the established faith of all India and was, moreover, propagated further afield by many zealous missionaries. It penetrated into Central Asia by way of the northwest passes about the time of the semiforeign Indo-Bactrian, Indo-Parthian, and Indo-Scythian dynasties, at the beginning of the Christian era. Radically influenced, as we have seen, by foreign ideas, it was according to tradition [2] carried to China about A.D. 68 from the court of the Indo-Parthian king, Gondophorus. In China the new faith speedily became the rival to Confucianism and Taoism and was accepted as one of "the Three Religions." About A.D. 372 it reached Korea and became a very important channel for the distribution of the culture of the Middle Kingdom. From Korea to Japan was but a step, which the relation of the kingdoms of Kudara, Shiragi, and Koma made not only easy but inevitable.

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[2] *See* Henri Cordier, *Histoire Générale de la Chine,* I, 248-249, 262-266.

The introduction of Buddhism

Various dates for the first coming of Buddhism into Japan have been given, and it is altogether probable that immigrants, in many obscure ways, had made the faith of Shaka known considerably before A.D. 552. But this latter date, in the reign of the twenty-ninth Emperor, *Kimmei,* is not too precise to be misleading. Whether or not a previous mission had been received by *Keitai,* envoys came to Kimmei from King Seimei, of Pekche, or Kudara (as the Japanese called it), one of the peninsular principalities, with presents of books and a letter earnestly commending the new religion. The King wrote: "This doctrine is hard to understand, but marvelously excellent. It furnishes men with treasure to their heart's content. Every prayer may be fulfilled, and every wish granted." So the Emperor leaped for joy and welcomed the messengers and their gifts. It is evident that the first simplicity of the religion of Gautama had long since departed, since we have mention of a gold and copper image, which is still said to exist among the treasures of the Zen-ko-ji. The King of Kudara seems not to have been entirely disinterested, since he asked for a *quid pro quo* in the shape of military assistance against his enemies, a singular request in the passing on and recommendation of a pacifist form of religion. Whether this was so or not, Kimmei, after his first enthusiasm, seems to have been as suspicious of the new cult as was King Ethelbert when he insisted on hearing Augustine in the open air, where magic was less potent. But Kimmei was perfectly willing to have the new faith tested. The appointment of *Soga-no-Iname* as host for the new faith and the opposition of the clan of *Nakatomi* are facts not so inexplicable as at first sight appears. The Soga clan was not only the family specially charged with the care of foreigners and immigrants, but was also the representative of the *kuobetsu* class descended from the Emperors. Nakatomi, on the other hand, was the High Priest of Shinto and stood for the old *shinbetsu,* or class supposedly descended from the oldest gods. So the conflict that ensued between the protagonists and the opponents of the new religion was really a war of old-fashioned conservatives (*o-muraji*) against comparative innovators (*o-omi*), with the Emperor sitting on the fence.

The feud between the Nakatomi and the Mononobe on the one hand and the Soga on the other was, while it lasted, a battle royal, and it lasted a considerable time. The divine powers seemed a little tricksy in the matter. First came a plague of smallpox, for which very likely the envoys were responsible, since smallpox had been for some time passing eastward across Asia. The officials acted promptly, by casting the Buddha image into the Naniwa Canal and by burning down the temple. Disasters continued and the fearful began to think they had been a little premature and to talk about the wrath of Shaka. So the image was dredged up, another temple built, and the prestige of Buddhism restored. Much help came from the rumor that a wonderful log of camphor wood, floating in the sea, had come ashore to the strains of celestial music. The images made from this log became very popular and were profoundly respected. More emissaries came in 577 and 584, and the propagation of the faith proceeded apace. Inabe's son, *Umako,* followed in his father's footsteps and vindicated Buddhism by the very concrete test of subjecting a relic to the blows of a sledge hammer upon an anvil. The relic proved to be nothing less than the pupil of one of Shaka's eyes, yet the hammer was broken and the relic remained uncrushed. The incident is an ancient illustration of the familiar lines:

Hammer away, ye hostile hands,
Man's hammers break, God's anvil stands.

From this time onward the Emperors were not so timid about patronizing the foreign faith, and Buddhism began to spread rapidly.

Shotoku Taishi

The Emperor Yomei, who commenced his reign in 586, was connected with the Soga family through his mother, so the Buddhist cause had now the most august support. But the Mononobe still opposed as fiercely as ever the foreign propaganda and, on the death of Yomei, there was a serious civil conflict to determine the succession. This contest cost the life of Yomei's legitimate heir, *Sushun,* so that for the second time a Japanese Emperor was slain by a subject. It was while this struggle between the o-muraji and the o-omi was in progress that there came to the front the remarkable man who was destined to become the Constantine of Japanese Buddhism. The thirteen hundredth anniversary of Shotoku's death was celebrated in 1921 and showed that his fame as saint and statesman was as great as ever.[3] Prince *Umayado* ('Stable-door'), so-called because he was born (with a relic clasped within his baby hand) just outside the imperial stables, is generally known by his canonical name of Shotoku Taishi. Biased from the beginning towards the side of the Sogas he must have been, but his conversion is said to have been due to a vow. He was engaged in a struggle against Moriya, the Mononobe chieftain, who was in arms against Umako. When the battle was at its most critical point, the Crown Prince cried aloud: "Without prayer we can do nothing." Then he placed the images of the Four Guardian Kings[4] in his helmet and promised that he would erect a temple and pagoda in honor of the Buddha. So, in spite of the marvelous archery of the Mononobe general, the battle of Shigisen was won and the sister of the late Emperor Yomei, known to us as the Empress *Suiko,* was elevated to the throne. The gallant Prince Umayado, whom we may as well call by his religious name, Shotoku Taishi, was now made Prince Imperial and Regent, and the record of Suiko's reign is mainly that of the heir apparent's very able administration.

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[3] *See* Professor Kuroita's estimate of Shotoku Taishi in *The Far East,* Memorial Number, April 30, 1921.

[4] That is, the Gods of the Four Cardinal Points, originally the Indian gods, Varuna, Indra, Agni, and Yama.

He did not forget the vow he had made. Visitors to Osaka to-day ought not to miss the wonderful *Shi Tenno-ji* ('Temple of the Four Heaven Kings') which commemorates Shotoku's gratitude. There is a shrine dedicated to the Prince and the famous Guiding Bell, which has been so beautifully described by Lafcadio Hearn, is rung that Shotoku Taishi may lead the souls of dead children into Paradise. The rope is made of the bibs of dead children and the shrine is heaped high with toys brought by little children for their dead playmates. Here, too, is a stream of perpetually flowing water which is believed to carry prayers for the deceased straight to the merciful heart of the great saint.

Of course, many of the stories about Shotoku are merely legends, but from his boyhood up he is the subject of many, and some of them are too beautiful to be forgotten. There is one which reminds us not a little of the well known tale of St. Martin and his half cloak. Like the saint of Tours, Shotoku covered a dying beggar with his own cloak. The beggar died and was buried, but subsequently, when the tomb was opened, it was discovered that there was no body therein, only a cloak neatly folded together. Thus it was revealed that the saint's charity had been bestowed upon no one less than a divine being. Another story declares that Shotoku was himself really an incarnation of Kwannon, the Goddess of Divine Compassion, who had said: "Wherever a gnat cries, there am I." This, however, is probably rather a tribute to his universal benevolence than the affirmation of a dogma.

Apart altogether from the Prince's sanctity, he possessed qualities of the first order. The reputation he gained for being able to attend to many matters at the same time gained him the appellation of *Yatsumimi-no-Oji* ('Prince

Eight Ears'). For the propagation of Buddhism Japan owes Shotoku Taishi an eternal debt. The temples and monasteries and images increased enormously, and multitudes of men and women were added to the faith. But other memorable results as well were achieved during the Prince's twenty-nine years of administration. Among these was the drawing up in 604 of what has been called the Constitution of Shotoku Taishi. Some have described this as the first written law of Japan,[5] but this is an exaggeration. The "Seventeen Articles," as the Constitution is often called, according to Murdoch, are not much better than "a jumble of old and outworn platitudes." One may concede the applicability of the "old" without quite accepting the "outworn." At the time they must have possessed force and may have had freshness. The first article declares that "harmony is the precious thing," and the ninth runs as follows: "Good faith is the foundation of right. In everything let there be good faith, for in it there surely consists the good and the bad, success and failure. If the lord and vassal observe good faith one with the other, what is there which cannot be accomplished? If the lord and the vassal do not observe good faith towards one another, everything without exception ends in failure." Other articles deal with a plea for concord, the acceptance of Buddhism, the dignity of the Emperor, and such like.

Shotoku was also an historian and compiled a work known as the *Kujihongi*. Later on this was unfortunately destroyed by fire, but some of the material may have been preserved for us in the *Kojiki*. The great saint, statesman, and propagandist died in 621, just at the time Muhammad was preparing his *Hijra* ('Flight') from Mecca to Medina. It was said that "all the princes and *omi*, as well as the people of the Empire,—the old as if they had lost a dear child, had no taste for vinegar, the young, as if they had lost a beloved parent, filled the ways with the sound of their lamenting. The farmer ceased from his plow and the pounding woman laid down her pestle. They all said: 'The sun and the moon have lost their brightness; heaven and earth have crumbled to ruin; henceforth in whom shall we put our trust?'" The tribute, great as it was, was neither insincere nor undeserved.

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[5] Kanichi Asakawa, *Early Institutional Life in Japan.*

Progress of Buddhism

As in other lands to which it found its way, Buddhism at once gave very remarkable stimulus to the social and artistic development of the nation. Socially, Japan, containing a population of not much over a million farmers, fishermen, and hunters, was, prior to the advent of Buddhism, in a very backward state. We are too apt to read into the teaching of Motoori, the great revivalist of Shinto in the Eighteenth Century, the idea that Japan was in these early times ideal in morals, sentiment, and social relations. The famous scholar was too much of a *laudator temporis acti* and was misled by his enthusiasm. It is plain that the gentle spirit of Gautama produced here as elsewhere a great softening of manners and improvement in morals.

Then, again, the introduction of images and pictures laid the foundation of Japanese art, though we need not deny the artistic aptitudes of the people to whom the gift was brought. Professor Asakawa tells us that "almost every branch of industrial and artistic development owes something to the influence of the [Buddhist] creed." And Saito declares that in the *Horiuji,* built by Shotoku, one may study, as in a rich field, the influence of Chinese, Indian, and Greek ideas upon the art of Japan. The bare simplicity of the Shinto temples was superseded by the warmth of coloring and the splendor of gilding and lacquering which we associate with the Buddhist *tera.* There was a sort of divine impulse towards the making of beautiful things. For example, we find the Empress Suiko, in 592, learning of the visit of three goddesses to what is now the beautiful island, Miyajima. They desired to have there a shrine and so sent the Empress a crow with a twig of the *sakaki* ('sacred evergreen'). The Empress got to work and lo, in time, Miyajima, with its majestic portal. Emperors and Empresses alike vied with one another in encouraging the casting of images of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas. "It is my desire," said the Emperor on one of these occasions, "that each peasant shall have the right to add his handful of clay and his strip of grass to the mighty figure."

Many of the earliest artists of Japan were really Chinese who assumed Japanese names and associated themselves with the rising art of the land. By one of these was painted the oldest picture of Japan, on the walls of the Horiuji at Nara. Shotoku himself is reputed to have had, among so many other gifts, skill as a painter.

In literature it is manifest that the necessity of producing and copying *sutras* must have given a powerful impetus to the arts of reading and writing. The new desire for literature is illustrated by the compilation of the various chronicles which, although they survive only in name, so far as their general content is concerned, have doubtless been incorporated into the *Kojiki* and *Nihongi* of a century later.

CHAPTER VIII

THE GREAT REFORM

Downfall of the Sogas

It has been said with much truth that Shotoku Taishi "left behind him peace where he had found strife and anarchy, the light of civilization in the place of the darkness of semibarbarism, the knowledge and practice of art and science where there had been none before, reverential observance of a religion which was destined to mould the character of his countrymen for more than a thousand years." [1]

All this may be conceded, but it has also to be admitted that coincidentally the concentration of power in the hands of the Soga family contained within itself the germ of much trouble such as was not long in developing to the point of being obvious. The Sogas had rendered undeniable service to religion but were not so unworldly as to be beyond abusing their opportunity. The temporarily defeated chieftains of the old order (the o-muraji), representing the old Izumo and Kyushu families, much resented the way in which the grandees (o-omi) favoring the new régime had begun to ape the imperial state. The fine mausoleums which were being constructed for the Soga clan were only one sign among many that, in addition to controlling the succession, there was a design to establish a new dynasty. It really seemed as though two suns were simultaneously attempting to illuminate the skies.[2] In these charges there was a certain amount of truth. Shotoku Taishi had died in 621, his father-in-law, Soga-no-Umako, in 626, and two years later passed away the Empress Suiko. Then, when two claimants appeared to contest the vacant throne, Yamashiro, son of Shotoku, and Tamura, the grandson of the Emperor Bidatsu, it was the latter, favored by the Sogas, who became the sovereign. He was known as *Jomei,* and reigned from 629 to 641, though the power behind the throne was Soga-no-Yemishi. It must be confessed that the latter ruled ably enough. To this time is applied the hackneyed description of a halcyon age that "things dropped on the highway were not picked up." The same idyllic conditions continued to prevail when the Empress *Kokyoku* succeeded Jomei in 642.

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[1] J. H. Longford, *The Story of Old Japan,* p. 70.

[2] We may see here a remote anticipation of the dual government of later days.

But, all unobserved, Nemesis was creeping upon the Sogas in the person of one of the most famous and forceful of Japanese statesmen. This remarkable man, *Kamatari,* was the representative of the Nakatomi clan, which, as we have seen, had been the hereditary enemy of the Sogas. A little later he exchanged the name Nakatomi for the still more famous clan name of Fujiwara. The change came about in this way. From his youth up Kamatari, in common with others of his own clan and of the Mononobe family, had been watching for the opportunity to avenge himself on the Sogas and their allies. He observed carefully each one of the imperial princes with the hope of finding some one whose cause he might, to this end, adopt. At last, at a football party, he came upon Prince Naka, afterwards the Emperor Tenchi, and instinctively recognized him for the leader he was seeking. It was the meeting of Kamatari with Naka in a certain wistaria field for the purpose of studying the needs of the time that led to the adoption of the new name, *Fujiwara* ('Wistaria Field'). In this field was pondered and formulated the Great Reform (*Taikwa*) of which we shall presently speak.

But Kamatari's first ambition was to get rid of the Sogas. A conspiracy was launched and Soga-no-Iruka, heir of the house, was slain in the very presence of the Empress.

The father, Yemishi, at once collected an army, but he failed to hold it together, and was presently compelled to surrender himself for execution. On the eve of his death he set fire to his palace, and all the historical documents which had there been accumulating since the introduction of Buddhism were destroyed, except a small amount which was fortunately snatched from the flames. Immediately following this palace revolution, the Empress Kokyoku abdicated in favor of Prince Naka. But the Prince, acting under the shrewd advice of his mentor, Kamatari, preferred to bide his time. He urged instead the choice of Prince Karu, the late Empress' son. The choice was ratified and Karu, who is known as *Kotoku,* ascended the throne in 645. He was, says Murdoch, "a simple-minded, kindly-hearted, easy-going old man," and it is also needless to remark that the real authority soon fell into the hands of Prince Naka, who was now declared the heir apparent. Kamatari became chief minister and everything was decided according to the will of Fujiwara. Kamatari now became known as *Kuromaku* ('Black Curtain'), a theatrical term signifying the stage prompter. But Kamatari was very much more than a mere prompter; he chose the cast and decided the plot of the play as well.

The Great Reform

From the time of the reign of the Empress Suiko (593-628) there had been a considerable revival of intercourse with China. This was naturally followed by a more or less conscious adoption of Chinese ideas. Chinese dress, even to the adoption of such insignia of rank as the wearing of a distinguishing cap, became customary. With the arrival, moreover, of ambassadors from China and Korea there was the sending of imperial envoys to the Middle Kingdom. The coming in 602 of a certain Korean priest, one Kwal-leuk, who brought with him some interesting books and taught many interesting things, so quickened the desire to resort to the fountain-head of learning that students became eager to cross the seas. The situation has been well compared with that at the beginning of Meiji, when youths like Ito and Inouye risked their lives in order to become acquainted with the West and the secret of its power.

China had been for several centuries suffering from general disintegration but in 589 the short-lived Sui dynasty did something towards the reconsolidation of the State, and in 618 the splendid period of T'ang began the work which raised China to the position of the most highly cultured nation upon earth. The news was not slow in reaching Japan. In 622, a Chinese priest addressed the Japanese court and said: "The land of Great T'ang is a wonderful country, whose laws are complete and fixed. Constant communication should be kept up with it."[3] So the students who at this time went to the Chinese capital had much to learn and, on their return, much to impart. It is this fact which helps to explain the movement which came about for "sinicising old Yamato and its institutions." The early T'ang Emperors had undertaken to codify the existing laws of China and it is not strange that an impulse to do something corresponding to this in Japan should have taken possession of the men now in political control. Particularly was it to be expected of a statesman of the caliber of Kamatari.

One of the significant innovations introduced from China was the method of reckoning time by the periods known as *Nengo*. These periods were of irregular length and named after any remarkable incident which attracted the attention of the rulers, such as the discovery of copper or of gold, or the inauguration of some new political experiment. On the continent these "year periods" had been in vogue as early as the time of the Han dynasty (210 B. C.-A. D. 220), but the system was not adopted in Japan till 645 and the first year period, in that year, took its name from the Great

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[3] Kanichi Asakawa, *Early Institutional Life of Japan*, p. 253.

Reform (Taikwa) which constitutes one of the most important steps taken in the constitutional history of the Empire. The occasion was indeed one which worthily inaugurated a new epoch, since without any doubt Taikwa is no less important than the great change which ushered in the era of Meiji in 1867. It is significant that when the Japanese describe this latter change, they use, not the term Revolution, which is the customary term in foreign accounts of the event, but the term Restoration, as implying a return to the Taikwa idea.

The Great Reform was very largely the work of Prince Naka-no-Oye and his able minister, Kamatari. These, of course, owed much in their turn to the scholars who had returned from the T'ang court, more or less completely sinicised by thirty years residence abroad.[4] The machinery of Japanese government was now entirely in the hands of these, while the broken remnant of the defeated Soga were finding a refuge in the Buddhist monasteries. These ecclesiastical fortresses were destined in time to become an irritating thorn in the side of the administration.

Murdoch has given in Chapter V of the first volume of his *History* a very full account of the Great Reform, but some general conception of its scope may be obtained from the following summary: "The Yamato sovereign was no longer to be merely the head of the chief clan in Japan, with a feeble control over the other great clan chieftains and with no control over the dependents of these. Henceforth he was really to be the Emperor of Japan. Every rood of the soil was theoretically supposed to have been surrendered to him,—that is to say, the theory of eminent domain was now effectually established." [5]

Professor Quigley has described the Taikwa system as follows:

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[4] One of these scholars became tutor to Prince Naka.

[5] *See also* Asakawa, *op. cit.*

> The Civil Government of the Reform Era consisted of a National Council of three Imperial advisers or councillors and eight administrative departments, over which the three councillors had general supervision. The eight departments were entitled as follows: 1. Imperial bibliographical; 2. Court rites and appointments; 3. Nobility and etiquette; 4. Popular affairs; 5. War; 6. Justice; 7. Finance; 8. Imperial Household Finance. Beneath radiated a bureaucracy chosen partly upon examination as in China, but with greater attention to other considerations, such as noble blood, than was customary in that country.[6]

It will be observed that a clear distinction was drawn between what was essentially Japanese and what was Chinese. The theory of sovereignty was purely Japanese and in no way adjusted to Chinese conceptions of the relation of the Son of Heaven to the Middle Kingdom. The machinery of state administration was as characteristically Chinese. Graded ranks were established, with their appropriate headgear and other insignia. Some of these, however, had been known since 604, the year of the Seventeen Articles. Governors were appointed for the eastern provinces and a natural system of taxation was created, with the taxes, however, no longer paid to the governors, but directly to the Emperor. Every person received a certain portion of land of the produce of which a fixed proportion had to be paid to the government, and every man between twenty and fifty had to work for the government ten days annually. Restrictions were imposed upon the building of tombs, since, as in ancient Egypt, mortuary pride had led to their construction on so huge a scale as to bring about widespread oppression and poverty. Junshi and other barbarous rites were definitely forbidden, though in some respects there was a return made to the primitive rites of Shinto.

In some respects the full effect of the changes made was not felt until the end of the Ninth Century, but from the first the drastic character of these changes was appreciated. Taikwa might even have been called a Revolution, had not the Emperor himself been a party to the reform. Not only were the serious encroachments and abuses of the Soga régime checked, but a constructive policy was launched which touched every aspect of the state system, from the creation of a new departmental machinery to changes in the administrative methods of the smallest local units, from arranging for all the gradations of rank among the nobility to the more equable distribution of the burdens of taxation and of military service.[7]

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[6] H. F. Quigley, "The Pre-Meiji Political System," *Trans-Pacific,* July 31, 1926.

Tenchi (668-671)

Kotoku died in 654, but Prince Naka was not yet far enough advanced in his schemes of social reform to be willing to relinquish these for the official strait-jacket of a throne. So he prevailed upon the retired Empress Kokyoku to come back to the cares of state. This she quite readily consented to do, but her second reign is known to us under a different name, that of *Saimei*. The possessor of two imperial names reigned from 655 to 661, and when she died in the latter year, the succession of the heir apparent could no longer be delayed. So was inaugurated the rule of the great Emperor *Tenchi*, one of the most enlightened sovereigns Japan was ever destined to know. So little, however, was he in love with the mere trappings of sovereignty, that Tenchi did not formally take his place as Emperor till 668, seven years after the death of his predecessor. All this while he was benevolently engaged in the service of his country, which was indeed the one enthusiasm of his life. A little poem in the collection known as *Hyaku-nin-isshu* ('Single Songs of a Hundred Poets') describes the sympathy with which Tenchi followed the labors of his subjects in the rice fields:

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[7] *See* Asakawa, *op. cit.*, p. 264.

Coarse the rush-mat roof,
Sheltering the harvest hut
Of the autumn rice-field:—
And my sleeves are growing wet
With the moisture dripping through.[8]

Tenchi's interest in education was as sincere as his devotion to social reform, and he deserves to be remembered for the establishment of a university in which four hundred students found accommodation. After his formal acceptance of the throne, he lived only four years, and his great, if unscrupulous, minister, Kamatari, passed away two years earlier than the master he had served so faithfully. If we pass over the early act of treachery which involved the death of Soga-no-Iruka, we cannot help awarding to the first Fujiwara a very generous meed of praise.

Overseas Japan

The only conspicuous failure of Kamatari's administration was the abortive attempt on Korea. It should be remembered that all this time there had been what may be called an overseas Japan, especially in what is known as the *miyake* ('Government House'), of Mimana. This had been retained in order that Japan might be of assistance to her ally, Kudara, or Pekche, in the constant struggle which went on with the other Korean principalities. But Japan rendered very small service to her allies on the continent until the invasion of Korea by the T'ang Emperor, Kao Tsung, made it absolutely necessary to send an expeditionary force. The result was a Japanese defeat and the annexation of Korea by China. In the battle of the Pekshon River a Japanese force of 27,000 men was destroyed by the Chinese fleet. This defeat remained unavenged till the days of Hideyoshi nearly a thousand years later. The reverse, however, was turned by Tenchi to good account in the welcome given to the many Korean fugitives who fled before the Chinese armies. Some have supposed the *Eta,* or outcast classes of Japan, to have been descended from these refugees, but it would rather appear that the immigrants who came at this time were readily assimilated and rendered excellent service to the arts of their adopted country.

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[8] *See* translation of the *Hyaku-nin-isshu* by Clay McCauley, *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, Vol. XXVII, Part 4.

The Jinshin disturbance

The cyclical name for the year 672, *Jinshin,* recalls a very severe struggle for the succession which took place between a son of Tenchi, Prince *Otomo,* and the Emperor's younger brother, Prince Oama. Tenchi had himself been undecided as to a choice between his brother and his son. Possibly distrusting the extreme youth of his son, he had given the title of heir apparent to Oama, naming him at the same time Prime Minister (*Dajo daijin*), a title now appearing for the first time. When Tenchi died, Prince Oama begged leave to decline the throne and "put on priestly garb," as was the custom of imperial princes when they wanted to avoid the appearance of royal ambition. So Otomo became the thirty-ninth Emperor and is known to us as *Kobun.* But the reign proved a very brief one, not indeed outlasting the year 672, for the uncle regretted his retirement to a monastery and suddenly appeared at the head of an army. A desperate struggle ensued on "the Long Bridge of Seta," across Lake Biwa, which ended in the defeat and suicide of the Emperor Kobun. The old order was once again vindicated and Oama now took the throne. He reigned for fourteen years, from 672 to 686, and is known to us as *Temmu.* The new sovereign has been accused of having led the court into corrupt and frivolous paths. There was certainly much preoccupation at this time with millinery and hairdressing, with gambling, and even with so serious an interest as the solving of conundrums. But Temmu was undoubtedly an able administrator. He did a great deal towards extending the influence of the Great Reform. But, equally without doubt, he increased the centralization of the government and set the precedent of relying upon military force. It has been suggested that the records have been colored in his favor, seeing that the organization of an historical commission took place in 681 which later on produced the versions of Japanese history that we find in the *Kojiki* and the *Nihongi*. Five years later Temmu died and there followed an interregnum of four years.

Jito (690-702)

In 690 the interregnum was broken by the consent of Temmu's widow to occupy the vacant throne, and this lady is known as the Empress *Jito*. Her real motive for acceptance seems to have been the desire to hold the place open for her son, Kusakabe, though, as the latter was already twenty-five years old, it might have been expected that he was able to look after his own interests. The arrangement, however, was not agreeable to everybody and an illegitimate son of Temmu, named Otsu, started a rebellion. But Otsu had a better reputation as a poet than as a soldier, so the revolt ended in his own death. His gallant wife "hastened thither with her hair dishevelled and her feet bare and joined him in death." The Empress Jito herself is known as a poet and is honored with a place in the anthology mentioned above, *Single Songs of a Hundred Poets.* But the interest of Jito's poetry is less than that of her reform edicts. One of these concerns the emancipation of slaves. Many people who had incurred debt had been in consequence consigned to a state of hopeless bondage. By these, at least, the edicts of Jito were much appreciated. Yet, as Brinkley observes, the buying and selling of slaves in Japan was not finally forbidden till 1699. Two other important edicts may be mentioned. In that of 689 the first steps were taken towards conscription, and in that of 696 the principle of primogeniture was adopted in order that succession quarrels might be avoided for the future. After the settlement of a question which in previous reigns had caused great trouble, the Empress abdicated. Her son, Kusakabe, had in the meantime died, but the Empress was content to see the throne pass to the heir apparent's son, Prince Karu. It marks the earliest instance of the accession of a minor to the throne of Japan.

Condition of the people

It is difficult at most epochs of Japanese history to penetrate behind the stories of knightly adventure and courtly intrigue to the real life of the masses, but it is particularly difficult in the Seventh Century. Probably the people had small opportunity in life, independent of their social superiors. For these they cultivated the rice fields; for these they fought in the various wars of succession; for these they set out upon expeditions against the Ainus of the north.

But a few things of interest emerge. There appears, then as to-day, to have been a great deal of official oversight. A census was taken every six years and the census records of every thirty years were preserved. Households were arranged into different classes, from "children," under three years old, to "old," or "invalids," above sixty. Each group of five households constituted a *goho,* and fifty households made a village, or *mura.* Every village had a mayor who was responsible for the industry and morals of the people under his charge. Laborers were permitted to rest from noon to 4 P.M. in July and August and were not expected to do night work. When sick they were fed at the public charge and when they died a coffin was provided out of the public funds.[9]

On the whole it would appear that the common people up to this period preferred the old order of things rather than the innovations introduced with the religion of Shaka.

Then, as now, Japan suffered terribly from physical catastrophes on the large scale, and the population endured these with stoical heroism or made efforts to escape them by resort to the suggestions of superstition. A great earthquake visited the land in 599. This was followed by droughts and famine. There was snowfall in July with hailstorms in which the stones were "large as peaches." Meteors and comets terrified men in palace and cottage alike, so that witches and wizards were in great demand. At one time, we read, there was a kind of moral epidemic, in which the people were persuaded to worship a caterpillar as "the insect of the everlasting world." This strange obsession was brought to an end by the slaying of the prophet of this novel cult. We have already referred to the partial relief of men and women, sold into slavery, by the beneficent edict of the Empress Jito.

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[9] F. Brinkley, *History of the Japanese People,* p. 184.

CHAPTER IX

"THE GREAT DISCOVERY"

The Prince Karu, in whose interest the Empress Jito had abdicated, now became the forty-second Emperor, and is entitled Mommu in the imperial lists. The reign is marked by the rapid growth of Buddhist influence, even in the case of the families which had hitherto opposed it. The Fujiwara, that is, the former Nakatomi, family was still in the ascendant, and the Fujiwara statesman at the helm was the grandfather of the young sovereign. It was at this time that the custom commenced of choosing imperial consorts from the Fujiwara clan. This practice persisted right down to the Twentieth Century and was only discarded in the case of the present Crown Prince's marriage in 1924. At the time of which we are speaking there was little power which was not in Fujiwara's hands. This strong-willed and capable family even assumed the right of opening the petitions which were placed in boxes outside the imperial palace.

Mommu (697-707)

The main distinction of Mommu's reign, itself due to the energy of the Fujiwaras, was the compilation of the Code known as Tai-ho. Of this Professor Hara writes: "For three-score years after the promulgation of the reform of Taikwa, there were many fluctuations, sometimes reactionary and sometimes progressive, and many additions and amendments were made to the many enactments published. In general, however, they remained unchanged, and were at last systematized and codified in the second year of the era of Tai-ho, that is to say, in A.D. 702. This is what the Japa-

The Tai-ho (702)

nese historians designate by the name of the Tai-ho Code.[1]

The name *Tai-ho* ('Great Treasure') was given because it was this era that saw the discovery of gold in the island of Tsushima. The discovery was not as valuable as was at first anticipated, and in comparison with the Code the material treasure sank to a position of relative unimportance.

Long before coming to the throne, Prince Karu, young as he was, had aspired to the honorable fame of Tenchi in the matter of carrying out reforms. So, with the assistance of Fujiwara Fuhito, the same who some seventeen years later was enabled to bring to completion the compilation of the Yoro Code, the boy Emperor interested himself with a new codification. He used the old Seventeen Articles of Shotoku Taishi as well as the more recent Code of Tenchi. A Council of Ten made the necessary revision and subsequently a revision was made of the revision.

This code, which, on the one hand, represents the consummation of the work of Tenchi, on the other hand, marks an entirely new epoch in the history of Japanese jurisprudence.

According to Mr. de Becker, the first period in this history is that from the foundation of the Empire to the Seventh Century, "during which the national patriarchal system maintained." "During this period, services in the nature of ancestor-worship constituted the most important function of the government; and official positions, both central and local, were hereditarily occupied by various leading families, even military service being performed by certain powerful houses supported by their own followers." [2]

But now, with the beginning of a second period, Chinese civilization is recognized as the source from which reform is to proceed. So the Tai-ho Code, like its predecessor, is based almost throughout on Chinese precedents. The work is in thirty sections which deal with the following subjects: Official Titles; Duties of Officials; Duties of Officials of the Empress' Household; Duties of Officials in the Household of the Heir Apparent; Duties of Officials in the Households of Officers of High Rank; Services to the Gods; Buddhist Priests; the Family; the Land; Taxation; Learning; Official Ranks and Titles; the Descent of the Throne, and Dignities of Imperial Persons; Meritorious Discharge of Official Duties; Salaries; Court Guards; Army and Frontier Defense; Ceremonies; Official Costumes; Public Works; Mode of Addressing People of Rank; Stores of Rice and Other Grains; Stables and Fodder; Duties of Court Physicians; Official Vacations; Funerals and Mourning; Watch and Ward and Markets; Arrest of Criminals; Jails and Miscellaneous.[3]

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[1] K. Hara, *Introduction to the History of Japan*, pp. 116-117.

[2] J. E. de Becker, D.C.L., "Elements of Japanese Law," *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, Vol. XLIV, Part 2.

"The basic principle of the Tai-ho Code," says Captain Brinkley, "was that the people at large, without regard to rank or pedigree, owed equal duty to the State; that only those having special claims on public benevolence were entitled to fixed exemptions, and that not noble birth but intellectual capacity and attainments constituted a qualification for office." [4]

Murdoch, while giving due credit to the Code of Tenchi, which had been circulated among the provincial governors in the reign of the Empress Jito, speaks in high terms of the Tai-ho Code, not only as a surviving monument of advancing civilization but also as "an invaluable treasure to any painstaking historian endowed with a modicum of common sense, and so ever mindful of the fact that there is often a wide gap between the enactment and the enforcement of laws."

It is because of this that the reign of Mommu is important out of all proportion to its length. Before the death of the young Emperor, at the untimely age of twenty-five, much had been accomplished to the advantage of Japan. The University, in particular, which had been so close to the affections of his predecessor, Tenchi, had become definitely established. Moreover, in addition to the machinery of administration, various elements of Chinese culture had become the common property of the nation. Thus was the way prepared for the accession of Mommu's mother, the Empress Gemmyo, with whom commences the splendid epoch of Nara.

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[3] James Murdoch, *History of Japan*, I, 142 ff.

[4] F. Brinkley, *A History of the Japanese People*, Chap. XVI, p. 177.

CHAPTER X

THE NARA PERIOD

Up to the present, as we have seen, the capital of Japan had shifted from place to place with each successive reign.

The period

The reasons for this have already been suggested in the extreme aversion on the part of Japanese to continued residence in a place which had been polluted by death, and in the fact that the heir apparent was generally the occupant of a separate estate in the lifetime of his predecessor on the throne and did not care to change on his accession. We do not know exactly why it was that in 710, the second year of the Empress Gemmyo, the court was removed from the province of Settsu to Nara. It was probably due to the increasing influence of Chinese precedents that Gemmyo's successors retained Nara as their capital. So for a period of about seventy-five years Nara remained the capital of Japan. During this time the throne was occupied by seven sovereigns, of whom four were women.

Nara

When the change of capital was made, Nara was a full day's journey from Osaka. Now, though the old metropolis is not on the highroad from Tokyo westward, it is possible to make the same journey in an hour. It is visited to-day by multitudes of tourists, though shrunk to a tenth of its former size. Poets have sung the beauties of Nara from early days to the present. In the old days Sakimaro wrote:

Never thy hills might tire my gaze, and never
Far from thy dwellings might I wish to roam;
Thy streets, stretched out across thy plain for ever,
Each house some loyal and sturdy warrior's home.

And a modern writer, from a quite different point of view, has chronicled the visitor's impressions of to-day:

Beyond the Torii, curving wide,
The sacred deer feed on the grass.
They tamely eat from friendly hands,
Undaunted by the crowds that pass
Before the vendor's booths that flaunt
Their lacquered ware and shining brass.[1]

Yet, few who pass up the long, straggling street from the railway station to the park to-day realize the extent to which the ancient Nara was the imitation of things Chinese, in particular the imitation of that old city of Si-an,[2] which was the T'ang capital of the Middle Kingdom.

Nara is situated about midway between Kyoto and Osaka, twenty-six miles from the former and twenty from the latter. In its beautiful parks and temples there is, amid all evidences of decay, sufficient to recall "the seven courts of Nara." We miss the laying out of the city to conform to the Chinese plan, but we may still see the Kasuga shrine, lacquered in red, and "one of the most graceful structures in existence." We may still look upon the Imperial Treasure House, though the building is only opened once in every reign. We may still see the great Todaiji bell, weighing forty tons. And from almost any spot there is enough to suggest something of the glory of twelve hundred years ago when Nara had her half million souls and was a continuous spectacle of animation and magnificence. Mr. Ralph Adams Cram calls what is left "the most precious architecture in all Asia."

Nara has one relic, however, around which it is easy to reconstruct a good deal of the Japanese Eighth Century.

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[1] Louise de Wetter.

[2] Si-an, or Singanfu, the old capital of China is in the province of Shensi.

This is the *Daibutsu,* or great image of the Buddha, which was first erected in 747 by the Emperor Shomu amid an enthusiasm which reminds us of nothing so much as the cathedral-building in Europe of the Thirteenth Century. The circumstances of the building were as follows. Smallpox had been brought from Korea in 735 and, as the epidemic continued to increase, the Emperor formed the project of erecting a gigantic Buddha. In order to find out how the Shinto divinities felt about the matter, the priest, Gyogi, was sent to Ise. He returned with an announcement which subsequently proved to be exceedingly convenient, namely, that the Shinto divinities and the incarnations of the Buddha were all the same. With the opposition of the old order now removed, Shomu went on with his plan. He collected in person gifts toward the erection of the image and in 747 had the satisfaction of seeing the making of the cast. The Emperor brought the first earth in his sleeve and the ladies and high officials of the court followed the imperial example. It was not till 751 that the temple which shelters the Daibutsu was completed. The Emperor came to the dedication to pray for the peace of all the world and for the salvation of all sentient creatures. More than four hundred years later, the temple was burned and the image, badly broken, left standing solitary amid the ashes. The recasting and rebuilding took some years, and it was not till 1195 that the second dedication took place, a ceremony attended by the first Shogun, Yoritomo. Yet once again, in 1567, was the temple destroyed and generations passed before there was energy or courage enough to undertake another restoration.

The Daibutsu

The third dedication took place in 1708, when the present temple was opened for service. It has been only within the last fifteen years that the work of reconstruction was finally completed, and the offerings of to-day's tourists are still being received to carry out the desires of the Emperor Shomu of twelve centuries ago. As the priests put it: "Owing to the benevolence of the glorious Meiji era, we see the roof of the temple brilliantly raised again in the clouds; and in the very beginning of splendid Taisho era we applaud the virtue of Vairoćana and offer thanks to the ancient imperial patron. This is not only happiness of ours but of the whole world."

The great Buddha of Nara has been frequently described and all the figures given, from the 52½ feet which is the height of the image from the pedestal upwards to the 4 feet 4⅘ inches, the length of the little finger. Truth to tell, the impressiveness of the image, figures notwithstanding, is much diminished from the fact that the Buddha is a "dry" god, that is, one under the shelter of a roof, and also from the fact that the head is both newer and uglier than the rest of the image. It is said that nearly a million pounds of copper were used in the casting, besides a large quantity of other more precious metals. In course of time, the copper was taken as representing the underlying structure of Shinto, while the gold symbolized the outward adornment of Buddhism.

Gemmyo
(708-715)

Japan was sometimes called by the Chinese "the Queen Country." This may possibly have been through some tradition of the exploits of Jingo. More probably, it was from the age-long association of the land with the Divine Ancestress, Amaterasu. But the title has also been deserved because of the comparative frequency with which, at least in the early centuries, and by contrast with China, the destinies of Japan were entrusted to a woman. The Nara epoch commences with the reigns of two Empresses, Gemmyo and Gensho. The former was the daughter of Tenchi and the mother of Mommu. She reigned only till 715 and then abdicated in favor of her daughter. Gensho, in her turn, reigned till 723.

The best attested event of the two reigns is the reduction to writing of the ancient annals of Japan. The destruction of the Soga palace, as we have seen, had caused the loss of all earlier materials. But some survived, if not in writing, at least in the memories of men. One of the courtiers of the reign of Temmu and a member of the Historical Commission of that period was Hiyeda-no-Are, to whose memory, or (possibly) bias, we are indebted for our present versions of ancient Japanese tradition. The *Kojiki* ('Record of Ancient Matters') was produced under Gemmyo in 712, and the *Nihongi* ('Chronicle of Nippon') under Gensho in 720. Hiyeda-no-Are and other reciters were brought into the presence of the scribe Yasumaro, and the result was set down in Chinese characters. The *Kojiki*, though written in Chinese characters, was written in the Japanese language, and is much the coarser of the two epics, if we may venture to use the term. The *Nihongi* is written in Chinese, language and script alike, and it is quite plain that efforts were made to conform as far as possible to a polished Chinese style. Possibly matter was introduced which is the reflection of Chinese rather than of Japanese tradition. Both books, which have been translated into English,[3] are deserving of study and are of course of enormous importance in helping us to form some idea of primitive Japan, even though we may attach little weight to the bizarre and sometimes revolting details of the mythology.

The *Kojiki* and the *Nihongi*

As Gemmyo had abdicated in favor of Gensho, so the latter after a few years yielded up the sovereignty to a nephew, the son of the Emperor Mommu, who subsequently received the imperial name of *Shomu*. Shomu reigned for twenty-four years, from 724 to 748, but during much of this time the authority remained in the hands of his wife, the Princess Asuka. Through the machinations of her Fujiwara relatives this

Gensho's successors

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[3] *Kojiki*, translated by B. H. Chamberlain; *Nihongi*, translated by W. G. Aston.

strong-minded lady was in course of time made Empress and is known in the lists as *Komyo*. She is famous for her poetical talent, her wit, her beauty, and, not least, for the raven tresses which reached and swept the ground. All through the reigns of Shomu and his ambitious consort Buddhism was dominant and, moreover, took its full advantage of the imperial patronage. Concerning this dominance and some of its consequences, bad as well as good, we shall have something to say presently.

Koken (749-758)

The prestige of Buddhism was by no means diminished when Shomu, who had always been more of a devotee than a monarch, decided to abdicate and take the tonsure. This mischievous precedent, all too frequently followed in later centuries, had much to do with the subsequent diverting of imperial activity into channels created for it by the rise of the great feudal families. The throne now passed to Shomu's daughter, the Princess Abe, now enrolled as the Empress *Koken*. Like Shotoku Taishi, Koken was believed by the populace to be an incarnation of Kwannon, the Goddess of Mercy, a superstition not unnaturally encouraged by her mother, the Empress Komyo. Thereupon the Buddhist control of state offices continued stronger than ever and was carried to even scandalous extremes. To take any form of life was strictly forbidden, and the poor fishermen, all but reduced to starvation by the decree, had to be relieved by imperial subsidies of rice. Yet all Koken's pretensions to heavenly origin and all her professions of piety were unable to cloak the shameless *liaison* with Fujiwara-no-Nakamaro, whose usurped authority, moreover, drove out of office all who appealed to the better traditions of the Empire. After four years the Empress followed the example of her father by abdicating, although she still endeavored to use her influence "behind the curtain" during the reign of her son, the new Emperor, *Junnin* (759-765). Koken had become a nun, but this involved no more improvement in morals than is suggested by the replacing of the Fujiwara favorite with a Buddhist priest of evil fame. This was *Dokyo,* who has been termed the Wolsey of Japan. But Dokyo had an even more "vaulting ambition" than the Cardinal, for, intoxicated with his sinister success, he even aspired to climb the throne. The rejected Fujiwara-no-Nakamaro made an unsuccessful revolt, but paid the penalty of failure with his own head and those of his wife, children, and supporters. The imperial libertine, supposedly in religious retirement, was not content with these grisly tributes to her success. She first accused the Emperor of being privy to the rebellion and had him first exiled and then slain. Thereupon the alert lady returned to the throne under another name, *Shotoku,* a name strangely out of place as applied to Koken. Dokyo was now supreme. His insolent ambition brought out a fearless protest from the patriotic Kiyomoro, but the protestant was immediately silenced by banishment and the evil-doers remained still unshaken. Yet Nemesis was at hand, for the Empress opportunely died and her paramour, deprived of her august support, was dismissed into a well deserved exile. It may seem strange that the mingled bigotry and libertinism of the Empress Shotoku should have had any connection with one of the great arts of civilization. Nevertheless, it is a fact that the earliest well defined block prints come from the Japan of this reign. The Empress, who kept 116 priests at court to drive away the demons, found no other way of multiplying charms fast enough to satisfy herself, so she printed them off by the million.[4]

The line of the Emperor Temmu was now extinct, but an elderly grandson of Tenchi was discovered in the person of *Shirakabe,* who, through the invaluable aid of the indispensable Fujiwaras, became the Emperor *Konin* (770-781). Konin did the best he could to cleanse the Augean stable he had inherited. Then he died, leaving the scepter to his son, the Emperor *Kwammu*, under whom is inaugurated the new era of the Heian.

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[4] *See* T. F. Carter, *The Invention of Printing in China.*

Buddhism in the Nara period

The above summary of political events would suggest that the female rule which so largely prevailed was exceedingly favorable to the extension of Buddhism. All the Nara rulers were devout, even when far from exemplary in conduct. It is probable that Dr. Harada's statement that Buddhism "optimized Japan" is correct, since even the worst had their good impulses and their spiritual insights. The Empress Komyo, it is said, vowed to wash the feet of a thousand beggars. When the last came, a man hideous with leprosy, she finished her task unflinchingly and lo, the leper was transformed into a radiant divinity who ascended to the skies. Thus even the casting of the Daibutsu was not entirely out of a superstitious desire to escape the smallpox. It has been suggested[5] that "an ingenious writer might well contrive to mass a fairly complete account of eighth century Japan around the story of the Nara Daibutsu." As mentioned above, all classes, from ladies of the highest rank to peasants, who could only gather twigs for the furnaces, contributed to the great work. The metals used were in such prodigious quantities that in 958 the coinage of money had to be stopped, not to be resumed till the time of Hideyoshi, in the Sixteenth Century. The ten thousand priests who came together for the dedication included many from China and Korea, as well as Japanese eminent in statecraft, literature, and art. Gyogi, who himself was the grandson of a Korean immigrant, is said to have built forty-nine temples. In addition he is credited with the invention of the potter's wheel. But his most memorable achievement was the creation of that singular blend of Shinto and Buddhism which is known as *Ryobu*

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[5] James Murdoch, *History of Japan*, I, 192.

('the Twofold Doctrine'). It was to the intense delight of the patriots that a compromise was discovered by which the ancient religion of the land could be reconciled with the new faith imported from the continent. The authority of the Sun Goddess herself was invoked for the comforting assertion that the divinities of Shinto were but avatars of the Buddha. Had she not said to Gyogi in a dream: "The Sun is Biroshana [*Vairočana*]"? It was in consequence of this convenient synthesis that Ryobu was enthusiastically acclaimed for many succeeding centuries. To use the common expression, the copper of Shinto was overlaid with the gold of the religion of Shaka.

Nevertheless, Buddhism had its own sectarian developments, more or less independent of the older religion. As to-day Japanese Buddhism is represented by twelve sects and forty-nine subsects, so, in Nara times, there were six different denominations of Buddhists. The six Nara sects are as follows: *Sanron,* brought over from China in 625 by Ekwan; the *Jojitsu,* a Hinayana sect; the *Hosso,* brought over from China by Dosho; the *Kusha,* established by two Japanese priests who had studied in China; the *Kegon,* brought over in 736; and the *Ritsu,* a Hinayana sect introduced in 754. Of all these, it is said that the Hosso and Kegon alone survive. It is to be remembered that sectarian differences did not involve hostility or religious rancor.

From various sides the paths ascend,
Many and far abreast,
But when we gaze on the calm, full moon,
Single's the mountain's crest.

Nara literature

The period of Nara is not infrequently spoken of as the golden age of Japanese poetry. To some extent the title is well bestowed. There must, of course, have been much literature besides poetry in the form of Buddhist sutras as well as in the form of annals. In addition to the *Kojiki,* to which reference has already been made, there were including the *Ni-*

hongi, six national chronicles, or *kokki.* These are the *Shoku Nihongi,* the *Nihon Koki,* the *Shoku Nihon Koki,* the *Sandai Jitsuroku,* and the *Montoku Jitsuroku.* All of these have been handed down to us in complete form except the *Nihon Koki,* of which half has been lost. Up to Tokugawa times, the *Kujiki,* as well as the *Kojiki,* was regarded as authentic, but is now discredited.

A certain amount of culture, in imitation of China, was required at this time for the carrying on of official business, and not a few Japanese students went to China for instruction. In 716, one Nakamaro—not the Fujiwara, but a member of the Abe family—went to China with the Japanese ambassador and stayed till his death in 770. He is known to the Chinese as *Chou Heng,* and the greatest of Chinese poets, Li Po, wrote a poem in his memory. In the Japanese universities there were at this time about five thousand students, whose acquaintance with the Chinese script led inevitably to extended literary activity.

In poetry, the verse forms, ultimately derived from China, soon became fixed, and, so far as form is concerned, Japanese poetry has remained much the same for a thousand years. This poetry was in no sense of the word popular, as was frequently the case in China. As to-day, it was largely the work of refined people of the court, educated after the Chinese fashion, who made the writing of verses a kind of social amusement. Many of these writers were women, almost from the beginning, and these especially cultivated the Japanese language as the medium of their art, while leaving the compilation of Chinese books to the ecclesiastics. Form in poetry was highly valued, but the word, or *kotoba,* was always made, according to the etymological sense of the term, "the leaf of an idea." The verse form almost universally followed was the *tanka* ('thirty-one syllable poem'), arranged in five lines, as 5, 7, 5, 7, 7 syllables. Poems longer than this, known as *naga-uta* ('long poems') were extremely rare. The writing of a tanka, moreover, involved attention to much else beside the prosody. There were *makura-no-kotoba* ('pillow words'), that is, epithets almost like those employed by Homer, only more generally and more rigorously used; at times, however, a mere convention or "filler." There were also "pivot words," or puns, used very seriously, and used in order that by a kind of *double entente* the sentiment of the poem might be swung suddenly around as on a pivot. There were again very elaborate rules as to the choice of words, and many conventional limitations of subject. The theme of war was generally taboo, though in the *Kojiki* and *Nihongi* we find a few *kume-uta* ('soldier songs'), such as are ascribed to Jimmu Tenno. All this and more should be studied at length in the various treatises which deal specially with Japanese literature.[6] Here we may only allude to the main features.

Of the poetry belonging to the Nara age we have one anthology which has remained a classic through all the succeeding ages. To the elucidation of this collection, says Chamberlain, "a whole mountain of commentary has been devoted." This is the *Manyoshu* ('Book of Ten-Thousand Leaves'). It contains no fewer than 4,496 pieces, in 20 volumes, and covers a period of 130 years. The compiler is not known with any certainty, though it has been frequently stated that it was Prince Moroe, who died in 757. The two most famous poets whose work is here represented are Hitomaru and Akahito. These lived about the time of the Empress Jito (687-696) and the Emperor Mommu (697-707), in what is known as the Fujiwara-no-Miya Jidai. To a single poem in this work is attached the unusual note that the author was "a common person." One of the best known of the Manyoshu poems is the naga-uta which gives us the beautiful story of Urashima, referred to in a previous chapter.

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[6] *See* B. H. Chamberlain, *Japanese Poetry;* W. G. Aston, *Japanese Literature.*

CHAPTER XI

THE CAPITAL MOVES TO KYOTO

Kwammu (782-805)

Historians have, with few exceptions, adjudged Kwammu to have been worthy of a place among the greatest of Japanese rulers, with Tenchi, and even with Meiji Tenno. He certainly showed ability as a scholar, as well as independence of character. In the former capacity he had fame as one of "the three calligraphers" (*Sampitsu*), the others being Kukai, or Kobo Daishi, and Hayanari. The other quality is illustrated in the removal of the capital from Nara. What the motive for this change was is uncertain. Some say it was at the suggestion of the Fujiwaras; others that it came about through his own objection to the dominance of the Buddhists at Nara. Nara indeed had become a kind of Mount Athos from which the Japanese rulers were sometimes bullied into compliance with the ecclesiastical will. Others, again, have supposed that the Emperor was merely discontented with a capital which had become too small to suit his grandiose ideas. In any case, Kwammu was much less of a devotee than his predecessors and in no wise reluctant to get away from the overshadowing influence of the Seven Shrines of Nara.

Kwammu's reign is notable for some of the beginnings of militarism. Since the Reform of 645 the chief statesmen had been civil officials, but the necessity for sending an expedition against the Ainus brought into the light the man who was the first to receive the title of *Sei-i-tai-Shogun*, that is, "Barbarian-expelling Generalissimo," but who may also be considered as the first of the samurai. This was Tamura Maro, "a man of very fine figure. He stood five feet five, and measured fourteen inches across the chest. He had eyes like a falcon's and a beard the color of gold. When he blazed forth in wrath, he terrified birds and animals with his look; but when he jested children and women joined in his laughter." Under this paladin, the conquest of the Eastern Yemishi, "the Basques of Japan," was achieved and a distinct turn given to the fortunes of the military class.

Heian-Kyo

Kwammu's first experiment in change of capital was made with the advice of Fujiwara Tanetsugu, at Nagaoka, about thirty miles from Nara. Here 314,000 men were kept at forced labor and all was apparently going well when an unfortunate dispute occurred between the Fujiwara counselor and the Emperor's younger brother, Sagara, who was also Crown Prince. The Fujiwara favorite was assassinated and the Crown Prince exiled for complicity in the crime to Awaji, where he died. The Emperor took the tragedy much to heart and later built a shrine to the ghost of his younger brother, making offerings to the injured spirit which "had done the Emperor great scathe." It was probably all this which gave Kwammu a distaste for Nagaoka. So, in 794, "six years before Charlemagne was crowned Emperor of the West," a city was built on a more propitious site which was in a few years larger than any city in Europe except Constantinople and Cordova. This was *Heian-kyo* ('the City of Peace'), destined, under the name of Kyoto, to remain the residence of the Emperors of Japan down to 1869. Everything was done by the employment of geomancy and kindred arts to make "the Jerusalem of Japan" impregnable to all kinds of ill-fortune. Flanked by a range of hills on the east and stretching out in the other direction into the plain, Kyoto was protected at the four cardinal points by the beneficent influences of Azure Dragon, White Tiger, Red Bird, and Dark Warrior. On the hilltop to the east, moreover, was poised, like the "Pallas Athene" of

Athens, an armed figure with bow and arrows, which was believed to predict political change by outbursts of martial song. Heian, in imitation of the Chinese capital from which also Nara had been copied, was laid out rectangularly, with almost the precision of an American city. It is said that some of the streets still show traces of their ancient arrangement. The city was divided into two parts, one known as *Sakyo* ('the Left Capital'), on the east, and the other as *Ukyo* ('the Right Capital'), on the west.

Thus, then, was laid out the city whose record was to constitute the backbone of the history of Japan and which, even though for nearly sixty years it has relinquished the supremacy that it possessed for eleven centuries, is still the third city, and the most interesting in the Empire. To its name, the City of Peace, it by no means always corresponded to the letter, yet it must be acknowledged that there were generations in which not only peace but even slumber was the lot of Kyoto, as Miyako, the residence of the Emperors.

The Heian Emperors

Down to 1156, the date of Kiyomori's great victory, the Taira success which put the Empire for a generation under the control of that warlike family, twenty-eight sovereigns, including Kwammu, reigned at Heian. Hardly one of them demands more than a cursory notice. They reflect on the whole the particular Buddhist influence which was gradually bringing about the weakening of imperial authority. For instance, some of them are described as "Learned Emperors," which means nothing more than that they occupied themselves with the study of the Buddhist sutras, together with such adjuncts as calligraphy and the reading of the Chinese classics. A large number became so obsessed with these studies that, for greater leisure, they abdicated and so became *Ho-o* ('Cloistered Emperors'). There were sometimes as many as three of these living at the same time. They proved at certain times no little embarrassment to the reigning Emperor, since a clan leader on rebellion bent might escape the charge of sedition by putting an ex-Emperor at the head of his faction. Among these "religious" Emperors were some terrible bigots, such as Shirakawa, who prohibited all fishing and even ordered the imprisonment of the rain for having interfered with a contemplated journey. Another class of Emperors may be described as "Child Emperors," that is, minors placed upon the throne by the Fujiwaras merely to enable an ambitious minister to retain control of the State. The first of these Child Emperors was *Seiwa*, in 859. He had in him the making of a good man but abdicated prematurely in 876. His successor was *Yozei*, a boy of ten, who has been termed a "budding Nero" and was dethroned (a new precedent) after seven years of cruel and incapable rule. The Fujiwaras, continuing in their rôle of king-makers, next put *Uda* upon the throne, and in this reign the scholars ceased going to China because of the discouraging political situation at this juncture in the Middle Kingdom.

Uda abdicated in 897 and made room for his son, *Daigo*, who, a boy of thirteen at his accession, reigned for thirty-two years. He is distinctly the best of Kwammu's successors and is known as "the wise king of the Engi era." "Wise, intelligent, and kindly," Daigo governed well, and literature and the arts flourished. Yet the insolent control of the Fujiwaras was in no way diminished.

Michizane

A victim of the Fujiwara calumnies, but one of the most interesting characters of the time is *Sugawara Michizane*, who is now reverenced as the patron of schoolboys and the god of letters. The Sugawara family traced its descent back to the famous wrestler and maker of clay images mentioned (on the evidence of the *Nihongi*) as having intervened to stop "following in death," but the family name was not assumed till the reign of Konin in 770. The talent of the family ran strongly to letters, of the Chinese sort, and Michizane was the culminating glory of the house. For this reason, he was made tutor to the Emperor Uda, and chief minister to the Emperor Daigo. Murdoch rather depreciates the acknowledgement of any special claim to greatness in his case by reminding us that a one-eyed man is king among the blind. Nevertheless, Japanese tradition is unstinting in eulogy of him. First celebrated as an infant prodigy, Michizane grew in scholarship with the years until, acknowledged as the most outstanding savant of Kyoto, he became a capable minister in the court. Neither his good qualities, however, nor the services these enabled their possessor to render to the State stood in the way of an unfortunate ending to his career. The slanders of the Fujiwaras led to the banishment of the sage and his children and, after two years of seclusion and poverty, he died in 903 at the age of fifty-eight. The story is told that in taking leave at the last of his favorite plum tree he composed the verse:

Though your lord be afar,
Forget not thou the spring.

So many national calamities followed hard upon the death of Michizane that honors for the neglected scholar were hastily decreed, in order that the angry ghost might be propitiated. So it came to pass that the poor exile, Sugawara-no-Michizane, became deified as Tenjin, and is still to-day worshiped as the god of letters. The twenty-fifth of each month is observed in his honor as a school holiday and a special festival is celebrated every year on the twenty-fifth of June.

Decline of the Fujiwaras

The Fujiwaras retained their power in the State altogether for some two hundred years, but, as so often happens under similar circumstances, power begat abuse and abuse, decline. For a while the family was well-nigh omnipotent. For example, Fujiwara Michinaga ruled for thirty years as the guardian of three Emperors, married his three daughters to imperial princes, and became the grandfather of five Emperors. He declared in his pride: "The moon changes every month, but I am always the full moon." But from the beginning of the Eleventh Century the clan was obviously showing signs of decadence. The portentous growth which had continued from the days of Nakatomi-no-Kamatari and his colleagues with Prince Naka in the wistaria field slackened. It is, of course, neither fair nor wise to minimize the services which distinguished Fujiwara statesmen had rendered in war and in peace. But it would be just as unwise to ignore the mischief which had resulted from the supersession of imperial power in the setting up and pulling down of Child Emperors. Hence the Fujiwara decline, which we observe from the Eleventh Century onwards, was by no means unwelcome to patriotic souls. The former ability to endure hardness was now replaced by a disposition to luxury and self-indulgence. Those who were once foremost in the ranks of the warriors began now to prefer the atmosphere of the court of Kyoto. Some Fujiwaras gained their main, if not their sole, reputation as æsthetes and dilettanti. Such a one was Tadahira who had a cuckoo painted on his fan, which he never opened without first imitating the cry of the bird. When a rebellion broke out among the Yemishi of the north, or when the Toi made a descent upon Tsushima, the Fujiwaras were now content to send lieutenants rather than risk their own persons on the battlefield. Soon, as was inevitable under the circumstances, the rivalry of other families began to be felt and as these increased in importance, the fortunes of the main line of the Fujiwaras sensibly declined.

"The Red and the White"

The two most conspicuous families whose fortunes rose on the ruins of the Fujiwaras were the *Taira* and the *Minamoto*. They are frequently called the *Hei* and the *Gen,* after the Chinese pronunciation of the characters used for Taira, and Minamoto respectively. Both clans traced their descent back to the Emperors. Takamochi, the great-grandson of the Emperor Kwammu, was the first to receive permission to bear the name Taira. The name of Minamoto was first granted to a grandson of the Emperor Seiwa. The Minamotos were related to the Fujiwaras and were sometimes described as the claws of that clan.

The rise of these two warrior families, whose prolonged struggle for supremacy had a great deal to do with the development of the Japanese system of chivalry known as *Bushido* ('the Way of the Knight'), was not solely due to the decadence of the Fujiwaras. The Emperor Shirakawa was wont to lament that there were three things in Japan which consistently refused obedience to his will. These were the waves of the river Kamo, the dice of the gambler, and the monks of Hiyeizan. One looks to-day at the gentle waves of Kamo, with the women on the banks beating their clothes to whiteness, or upon the placid whiteness of the buildings on Hiyeizan, only to ponder on the transitoriness of the imperial fears. But in these old days the militant bonzes of the establishments outside Kyoto plagued the Emperor's life sadly, and it was against these that the aid of the Hei and the Gen was invoked at the capital. The appeal was as short-sighted as the appeal of Vortigern for the help of the Saxons. It was even worse, for the rival clans were soon pitted against one another even more belligerently than against the monks and discord was rife in the Empire.

Outside Kyoto these redoubtable warriors were not without their use. In the reign of *Horikawa* (1087-1106) the subjugation of the northern rebels was completed through the valor of the brave Minamoto chieftain, *Yoshiiye,* a personality of the most exalted qualities, as famous for his humility as for his courage. Yoshiiye finished his task after nine years of hard campaigning, and was afterwards deified as "The Eldest Son of the War God," *Hachiman Taro.* His skill as an archer was passed down to later generations and became the inheritance of the ill-fated Tametomo.

But in Kyoto the rivalry of Taira and Minamoto was certain to breed trouble. Occasion only was wanting to provide the spark for so combustible an assemblage of materials. The occasion came when the Emperor *Go Shirakawa*[1] ascended the throne in 1156. There was at this time another claimant to the throne in the person of the ex-Emperor Sutoku, who had grown weary of the monastic way. The two families at once took sides, though, while the Tairas as a body supported Go Shirakawa, the Minamotos were less unanimous. In consequence the Tairas, who had as their leader the cruel and crafty *Kiyomori,* came off victorious in 1156, and Go Shirakawa was able to establish himself upon the throne. Unfortunately, the victors used their power so ruthlessly, driving the defeated Sutoku to exile and death by starvation, that presently, when Go Shirakawa decided to abdicate, the civil contest broke out afresh. This time, *Yoshitomo,* the Minamoto leader, was on the side of his own kin. But, once again, resistance to the Taira forces proved unavailing. *Tametomo,* Yoshitomo's brother, the most renowned of the archers of Japan, was captured. The hero is said to have been seven feet high and to have had his left arm four inches longer than the right. He wielded a bow eight and a half feet in length. But all his valor was in vain; he was seized and disabled by the severing of the bow-arm sinews. Then he was exiled to the southern islands which we call Ryukyu. In his exile he continued to add to his fame, for he is said to have founded the long line of the Ryukyu kings.[2] Yoshitomo was assassinated by some of his own retainers and may be said to have brought his fate upon his own head.

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[1] The prefix "Go" has the literal meaning of "after" and may be translated as "second." Thus Go Shirakawa is Shirakawa the Second.

[2] *See* Madame Y. Ozaki, *The Warriors of Old Japan;* also the *Hogen Monogatari,* translated by E. R. Kellogg, *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan,* Vol. XLV, Part 1 (September, 1917).

For, with all our respect on account of his soldierly qualities, the murder of his father and brothers, while he was fighting on the Taira side, is one of the most cold-blooded and atrocious acts of the whole history. When the wiles of Kiyomori had succeeded in bringing about the fall of Yoshitomo, the Minamoto power seemed to have been shattered as completely as that of the Fujiwaras. Yet the next period will tell of Kiyomori's failure to maintain the advantage he had won at the cost of so terrible a bloodshedding.

Buddhism in the Heian period

We have seen that the old capital of Nara enjoyed the presence and activity of no fewer than six Buddhistic sects. So little, however, did this varied propaganda result in satisfaction or harmony that it was in the hope of finding something to reconcile the clashing ecclesiastical interests of the time that the Emperor Kwammu sent the two famous scholars, *Kukai* and *Saicho,* to Sian, the Chinese capital. It was this city, it will be remembered, that had been adopted as the model for the new metropolis. Saicho, who was afterwards canonized as *Dengyo Daishi,* went in 802 in the train of an ambassador of the Sugawara family. Kukai, later canonized as *Kobo Daishi,* followed two years after in the train of a Fujiwara prince. The visit at this time to "the City of Western Peace" is of singular significance, since the liberal policy of the earlier T'ang Emperors had permitted religious influence of all kinds from the West to find hospitality. Among the religions which received a shelter and a welcome were Magianism and Muhammadanism, Manichæanism and the Nestorian form of Christianity. The visitors would have found at least one large Manichæan church and four Nestorian churches. They would doubtless also have seen the famous Nestorian monument which a generation or so before their visit was erected to commemorate the victorious progress of the Christian religion. Under these circumstances it is not surprising that the Buddhistic system taken back by Kobo Daishi in 810 was a syncretism in which possibly Manichæan and Christian elements find a place. This form is known as *Shingon* Buddhism, the sect of the *True Word.* Shingon belongs to what is known as the *mantra* school, is related to the Yoga philosophical school of India, and reflects but slightly the influence of Çakya Muni. In 816, Kobo Daishi became the abbot of the famous monastery of *Koyasan,* in the mountainous district between Kishu and Yamato. To this monastery many thousands of pilgrims journey annually along "The Road of Many Turnings," chanting as they go their "*Rokkon-shojo-oyama*" ('May our six senses grow pure as we climb the heights!'). In the Hall of Ten Thousand Lamps is shown "the Poor Woman's Single Lamp," the gift of a woman who had to sell her hair in order to buy the gift. Though all the rest are the gifts of a rich man, it is said that when a high wind arose all of them blew out except the woman's lamp which continued to burn steadily and brightly. Kobo Daishi is highly honored by the pilgrims and the pilgrim staff is called *Kobo Daishi* after the saint. To be buried in the same ground as Kobo is to obtain rebirth in Paradise. Thus, after cremation, the "Adam's apple" of a dead man is often sent to be cast into the Hall of Bones at Koyasan. Many legends of the saint persist in the neighborhood, such as that of the soil from India dropped at the eighty-seven stations and that of the fire which has burned unquenched for a thousand years. Kobo Daishi left behind him not only the reputation of a great saint, but also that of a skillful artist and a tireless writer. The painter Hokusai has depicted him using five brushes at once, employing simultaneously hands and feet and mouth. His traditional association with the invention of the cursive script, known as *hiragana,* though probably without foundation, suggests his close connection with the development of Japanese literature.

Saicho, canonized as Dengyo Daishi, adopted a different form of Buddhism, known as *Tendai.* It is so called from the Tien Tai Mountains, some fifty miles from Ningpo, in China. Here Saicho studied and adopted his system of contemplation, with room, as the founder believed, for the whole "84,000 articles of the Mahayana faith." Singularly enough, the temple of Hiyeizan, built at the northeast (*Ushi-tora, i.e.* 'Ox-tiger') of Kyoto, to ward off evil influences from the city, became anything but a school of meditation. It soon developed into a nursery for hosts of swaggering and turbulent soldier-priests. The abbot, who in 961 used his troops to subdue a rival ecclesiastical establishment, had frequent imitators, until in time Kyoto's fortune was to be periodically terrorized by incursions of armed bands from Hiyeizan. Later on we shall see that it was this terrorism which induced Nobunaga in the Sixteenth Century to lend his patronage to the first Christian missionaries. So Tendai Buddhism became worldly and corrupt, although Saicho's identification of the Shinto deities with the avatars of the Buddha popularized the work begun by Gyogi, and completed the triumph of the Indian faith. The Emperors, as the number of the Ho-o would suggest, were largely under the influence of the bonzes. Some of them became bigots of the first water. We have already mentioned as belonging to this class Shirakawa, who followed an earlier precedent by prohibiting fishing and falconry—burning the nets of the fishermen and liberating the hawks. It is this Emperor who is said to have erected over forty thousand shrines and to have had cast six thousand images of the Buddha. More than half of these last were of at least life size.[3]

Heian literature

The advance of literature in this period was accelerated both by the general extension of prosperity and consequent refinement of manners and also by the use of better methods for transcribing thought than had hitherto sufficed. It is generally stated that the two systems of phonetic writing were invented in the Eighth and Ninth centuries. Each of these is syllabic and founded in all probability upon a limited number of simplified Chinese characters, adapted to a system somewhat like that of the Sanskrit syllabary. It has been claimed that the simpler of the two syllabaries, the *katakana,* was invented in 776 by *Kibi-no-Mabi,* and that the more elaborate cursive script, the *hiragana,* was invented by *Kukai,* or Kobo Daishi. As a matter of fact, neither katakana nor hiragana were invented by any one person, but are each the result of a natural evolution from the Chinese character. Their attribution to the above-named sages is only a popular tradition without historical foundation. In any case, it may probably be said that had the Japanese been satisfied with either of these scripts and avoided the learned lure of the Chinese ideographs, the study of Japanese today would have been a simpler matter than is unfortunately the case.[4]

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[3] *See* A. K. Reischauer, *Studies in Japanese Buddhism,* p. 100.

With the advantage of a native system of writing, Japanese literature speedily forged to the front. The large majority of the writers of the period, however, were ladies of the court, and the general character of the literature produced is that of *belles lettres.* It would not be gallant to ascribe the lack of serious purpose displayed to this fact of feminine authorship, but, from whatever cause, lack of depth there certainly is, though no lack of charm and usefulness as illustrative documents for the study of the national life.

Of *poetry* the best known collection of the times is the *Kokinshu* ('Poems Ancient and Modern'), an anthology compiled by Daigo in 905 and issued with a Chinese preface by the nobleman *Tsurayuki.* Mr. Aston says that this preface is considered the *ne plus ultra* of style. The collection, completed in 922, contains about eleven hundred poems. With five exceptions these are all tanka, and are arranged in formal order under such heads as Spring, Summer, Autumn, Winter, Love, Parting, Death, and the like.[5]

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[4] *See* B. H. Chamberlain, *Things Japanese,* "Japanese Writing."

A very delightful class of Heian literature is that which falls under the head of *Diaries,* or Journals, including certain loosely arranged sketches which the Japanese call *Zuihitsu* ('Following the Pen'). One of these is the work of the same Tsurayuki who provided a preface for the *Kokinshu.* It is called the *Tosa Nikki* ('Tosa Diary'), and is the record of an official's journey to his home, as charming for the little bits descriptive of scenery and life as it is distinguished for its style. The *Diaries of the Court Ladies* are also delightful and may now be read for the most part in admirable English translations.[6] We have, for instance, the *Makura-no-Soshi* ('Pillow Sketches') by the Lady Sei Shonagon, with its extremely intimate and interesting pictures of a court life which was busily occupied with trivialities. No one should miss the delightful seriocomic account of the fidelity of the Emperor's dog which had been punished for chasing the imperial cat.[7] We have, again, the Diary of *Izumi Shikibu* (1002-1003) with its moods of "passionate rebellion"; the *Sarashina Diary,* with what Miss Lowell calls its "abiding melancholy"; and, perhaps the most interesting of all, the Diary of *Murasaki Shikibu,* which extends over the years 1007 to 1010.

The *Lady Murasaki* is interesting to us as the most famous of Japanese lady novelists. The novel of Japan is known as a *Monogatari,* ('gossip-thing') and we have a number of such works belonging to this period. They are, for the most part, the work of women, are very verbose, and sometimes rather unrestrained from the moral point of view. In their proper order the Monogatari of the Heian age are: the *Ise Monogatari,* the *Taketori Monogatari,* the *Yamato Monogatari,* the *Ochikubo Monogatari,* the *Utsubo*

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[5] W. G. Aston, *Japanese Literature,* p. 63.

[6] Annie S. Omori and Kochi Doi, *Diaries of Court Ladies of Old Japan.*

[7] Aston, *op. cit.,* pp. 111 ff.

Monogatari, the *Genji Monogatari,* the *Sagoromo Monogatari,* and the *Torikaebaya Monogatari.*

The *Ise* gives incidents in the life of a gay young nobleman in the court of Kyoto and was written about 890. The *Taketori* ('Bamboo-cutter') is a fairy story concerning the divine maiden who sends out her lovers on impossible quests.[8] The *Yamato* is a collection of stories, an imitation of the *Ise.* The *Ochikubo* ('Room below Stairs') is a "feebly sentimental story about an ill-used stepchild." The *Utsubo* ('Hollow Tree'), written in 980, is a long narrative of a man's voyage from Japan to China, his wreck on the coast of Persia, and the subsequent adventures of his daughter and her little son.

But best of all the *Monogatari* is the famous work of Lady Murasaki, the *Genji Monogatari,* so called in reference to the poem:

> When the purple grass [murasaki] is in full color,
> One can scarcely perceive the other plants in the field.

Murasaki Shikibu was a member of the Fujiwara family, born about 978. She accompanied her father to Echizen, of which province he was governor, in 996, and in the following year married Fujiwara Nobutaka. Her husband died in 1001 and from that time on she was writing the prodigious work which has at last been translated into English by Mr. Arthur Waley.[9] It was written in a Buddhist temple, where the authoress laid sacrilegious hands on the sutras in order to obtain writing material. By way of penance she had subsequently to recopy all the sutras, no small task when we remember that the novel extends to 4,234 pages in 54 books. One result of the writing of the Monogatari was that the classical form of the Japanese language became fixed for generations to come.

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[8] Compare Browning's poem, "Nympholeptos."

[9] *The Genji Monogatari,* translated by Arthur Waley.

Heian art

Literature and art were more closely related in Japan than they are with us, since both calligraphy and painting were the products of skill in the use of the brush. As we have seen, the advent of Buddhism gave impetus to the development of the arts. The portrait of Shotoku has been described as the beginning of an independent Japanese art. So the spread of the religion continued to assist the spread of art, and the number of its professors was constantly being augmented by fresh arrivals from China. The first preëminent name in the roll of the Ninth Century artists is that of *Kose-no-Kanaoka.*[10] There are many legends which pay tribute to the skill of this famous painter. The one most generally told is of the horse which was painted so realistically that it broke loose and ate the *hagi* ('Lespedeza bicolor,' a kind of brush clover) in the palace grounds. Kanaoka is perhaps best known for his picture of the Nachi waterfall. But scarcely a dozen specimens of his art survive. One, after having been rejected in various quarters, was purchased by the Louvre in 1882. In the Tenth Century *Yamato,* that is, Japanese pictures, were painted both by the *Kose* and the *Tosa* schools. Lives of the saints and episodes of the civil wars were painted upon the long horizontal scrolls known as *makimono,* in distinction from the *kakemono,* or hanging scrolls. One of the marks of these *Yamato-e,* or Japanese pictures, was in the substitution of Japanese dress for the conventional garb of China.

Heian society

So far as the court at Kyoto is concerned, the Heian period is one of increasing luxury and extravagance in manners and dress. This may easily be gathered from the reference in the *Diaries of the Court Ladies* referred to above. For example, the Lady Murasaki writes of the Mikado's ladies as follows: "One had a little fault in the color combination at the wrist opening. When she went before the Royal Presence to fetch something, the nobles and high officials noticed it. Afterwards Lady Saisho regretted it deeply. It was not so bad; only one color was a little too pale." And again:

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[10] *See* Sadakichi Hartmann, *Japanese Art,* pp. 19-28.

> The beautiful shape of their hair, tied with bands, was like that of the beauties in Chinese pictures. Lady Saemon held the King's sword. She wore a blue-green patternless *karaginu* and shaded train, with floating bands and belt of "floating thread" brocade dyed a dull red. Her outer robe was trimmed with five folds and was chrysanthemum-colored. The glossy silk was crimson; her figure and movement, when we caught a glimpse of it, was flower-like and dignified. Lady Ben-no-Naishi held the box of the King's seal. Her *uchigi* was grape-colored. She is a very small and smile-giving person and seemed shy, and I was sorry for her. Her hair-bands were blue-green.[11]

A modern society reporter could scarcely have done better.

The amusements of the courtiers and court ladies were trivial and for the most part harmless. Verse-making, "incense-tasting," mushroom-gathering, blossom-viewing, and the like, were favorite occupations. The keeping of pet animals and the rearing of kittens kept many otherwise idle hands from mischief and occasionally were even the excuse for the appointment of special officials. Sterner souls delighted in archery, kite-flying, battledore and shuttlecock, handball, and football. In the last-mentioned game some acquired prodigious skill and it is told of a certain high official named Naramichi that after "devoting a considerable part of seven thousand consecutive days to the practice of the art" he was able, while kicking the ball, to pass lightly over the heads and shoulders of the crowd.

Of the life of the masses during this same period we know very little. We are sure, however, that it was both simpler and severer than that of the lords and ladies of the Kyoto court.

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[11] *See Diaries of Court Ladies of Old Japan.*

The chief agricultural pursuit was the raising of rice. The cultivation of tea, cotton, and buckwheat commenced during the period. Many also provided for the necessities of life by fishing, whenever, at least, this occupation was not placed under the ban through the bigotry of some imperial devotee.

CHAPTER XII

TAIRA VERSUS MINAMOTO

The period of forty years from 1159 is known as the *Gempei* era because of the bitter fight which raged continuously for these years between the Gen (*Gem*), or Minamoto clan, under their white flag, and the Hei (*Pei*), or Taira clan, under their banner of red. The conflict may in some respects be compared with the English War of the Roses, though not in the sense of its being a struggle between two claimants to the throne. The Civil War divides itself naturally into two almost equal parts, the one marked mainly by the success of the Taira and the other by the revolt and ultimate triumph of the Minamoto.

The Gempei era

Kiyomori's victory over the Minamoto, recorded in our last chapter, seemed sufficiently complete. Yoshitomo had perished in the very house where he had expected a hospitable reception, and many of his house had shared his untimely fate. Of the surviving sons, one, at his own request, was slain by his defeated father during the retreat. Another son, Yoshihira, a lad of twenty, was captured and executed in the bed of the Kamo River. Another, Yoritomo, destined to become the first Shogun, fought till he fell asleep upon his horse and awoke to continue fighting. He had with him the famous sword, which had been handed down in the family, known as the Beard-cutter, *Higekiri*. For a time after Kiyomori's victory, Yoritomo, dressed as a girl by a compassionate fisherman, successfully evaded the foe. But he was presently captured and brought before the victor. The grim Taira chief seems to have been sensitive to the appeals of

The Taira triumph

women, so when intercession was made of Yoritomo's likeness to another by Kiyomori's stepmother, the boy's life was granted. It proved an unfortunate act of mercy for the Tairas, and those who protested that it was like turning a tiger loose in the fields were doubtless in the right.

Another act of compassion, equally unfortunate for Kiyomori's house, saved the life of Yoritomo's half brother, *Yoshitsune.* A beautiful concubine of Yoshitomo, named Tokiwa, one of Japan's immortal heroines, had fled away on foot with her three little sons. The youngest of them was the future Bayard of Japan. Art has immortalized the scene in which, through the driving snowstorm, the heroic mother made her way with "the Minamoto cubs." They might possibly have escaped the grim clutch of Kiyomori had not Tokiwa on the journey learned of the capture of her mother. Then, as filial piety made a matter of obligation, she at once threw herself upon the pity of the victor and pleaded passionately for the life of her little ones. The destinies of Japan hung for a moment on the persuasiveness of a woman. But, at sight of beauty in so much distress, the chieftain relaxed his customary ruthlessness and give permission for the boys to be sent away to a monastery, while Tokiwa became his mistress.

So, far apart from one another, the two representatives of the Minamoto house grew up with their memories and their hopes. Yoritomo was a ward in the house of *Hojo Tokimasa,* a Taira chief, while Yoshitsune in a Buddhist monastery grew up into a superlatively endowed manhood such as earned him the name of *Ushiwaka* ('the Young Ox'). He was also, according to tradition, visited by those mysterious hobgoblins with long wings and noses known as *Tengu* ('Heaven dogs'). These were his teachers in fencing and other military accomplishments.

Meanwhile, Kiyomori waxed daily in power under several more or less insignificant Emperors, the last of whom was his own grandchild *Antoku.* He himself became Imperial

Chancellor and relinquished this office (without sacrificing its prestige) for an appanage which took in a considerable part of the Empire. His relatives filled the highest posts, and his three hundred pages were spies whose eyes were all over the land. Yet, with all this, Kiyomori failed to watch the doors of destiny vigilantly enough to save his house.

In 1180, there was a futile Minamoto insurrection headed by a Minamoto clansman of advanced age named *Yorimasa,* but the old man, while fighting a gallant but forlorn battle, was struck by an arrow. He calmly seated himself upon his own iron war fan, composed his death song, and then committed suicide. By this time disaster was really heading towards Kiyomori. Kyoto, in 1177, had suffered a series of most appalling catastrophes, fire and hurricane together conspiring to destroy the capital. The Taira chief took this opportunity to move to a new headquarters at Fukuhara, near the modern Kobe, and took the boy Emperor, his grandchild, Antoku, with him. Nevertheless, the fates were not appeased. Famine and pestilence swept over all the western part of the Empire. A book of the time, known as the *Hojoki,* to which some reference will be made later, gives a most appalling description of the condition of Kyoto at this time. "Everybody," it says, "was dying of hunger . . . they fell down before your eyes. By garden walls or on the roadsides countless persons died of famine, and, as their bodies were not removed, the air was filled with evil odors." [1] In two months there were over forty thousand deaths in the central section of Kyoto alone.

Death of Kiyomori

There was some reason for Kiyomori's feeling a little uneasy as to the security of his power. But, as things happened, the tyrant fell before a mightier than any Minamoto. It was becoming apparent that a rising was at hand, especially since Yoritomo's romantic marriage with the *Lady Masako,* daughter of Hojo Tokimasa, had brought that powerful house into alliance with the Minamoto. The story of the marriage is an interesting one. Tokimasa had two daughters and on the day that Yoritomo was about to take up his residence with the family, the younger daughter dreamed of the coming of a handsome young cavalier to woo and to wed. The Lady Masako promptly bought up her sister's dream, so that when a little later the young Lochinvar rode off with his bride, the Hojo concluded to make the best of the situation and assist his son-in-law to further fortune. It may be said without exaggeration that both wife and father-in-law were very powerful factors in Yoritomo's success and subsequent rule.

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[1] W. G. Aston, *Japanese Literature,* pp. 148 ff.

Yet Yoritomo was not immediately successful. On one occasion he narrowly escaped falling into the clutches of his foes. The story is related which, with some difference of detail, is told of David fleeing from Saul and of Muhammad fleeing from the Quraysh.[2] A soldier plunged his spear into the cave where the fugitive lay in hiding, but made no further search because two doves flew up from their quiet nest and a spider's web was woven across the mouth of the cave. Visitors to-day at Kamakura will appreciate the reason for the flocks of pigeons around Yoritomo's great Temple of Hachiman.

It was while the Minamoto movement was rallying for revolt that Kiyomori died, at the age of sixty, in March, 1181. He was aware of the impending peril when he saw his end approaching. "Do not make offerings," cried the dying man, "at my grave to the Buddha, or cause the sutras to be recited: only cut off the head of Yoritomo and hang it on my tomb." [3] The leadership of the Taira now devolved upon the less adequate Munemori.

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[2] *See* "The Spider and the Dove," in Sir Edwin Arnold's *Pearls of the Faith.*

[3] Kiyomori is said to have been the natural son of the Emperor Shirakawa. In the *Heike Monogatari* he is described as "no common man" but the incarnation of *Jie Sojo.*

Yoshitsune and Benkei

We left the boy Yoshitsune under the instruction of the Tengu, waiting for a wider field of action than was promised within the walls of a monastery. When he made his escape, after becoming convinced of the personal inappropriateness of the tonsure, he made the acquaintance of the stalwart warrior who was henceforth until death his brother in arms. A whole cycle of legend has formed around the mighty form of the halberdier, Benkei. Supposed to have been the son of one of the Four Heaven Kings and a "wonder child," Benkei had grown up a militant bonze of prodigious size and strength. It is he who, according to tradition, carried off the great bell of the monastery of Miidera, founded by Tenchi, but was obliged to carry it back because it would no longer boom in an alien shrine.[4] Benkei had ordered a sword from a famous swordsmith for which he was unable to pay and had then and there vowed to dispatch to the artist a thousand swords won in fair fight on the Bridge of Kyoto. The debt was all but discharged when the supernaturally endowed Yoshitsune came along playing on his flute. But the instrument was soon abandoned for sterner play and the good, hard duel, in which Yoshitsune came forth eventually the victor, made of Benkei a willing and devoted slave whom not even death could separate from his master.

Defeat of the Taira

In addition to the two Minamoto brothers, the Gen cause had as a third leader Yoritomo's cousin, *Yoshinaka,* who for some time made a considerable military figure. At Kuritaka, in 1183, Yoshinaka imitated a famous piece of Chinese strategy, and incidentally emulated the feats of Samson and Hannibal, by liberating against the enemy a drove of oxen with burning torches fastened to their horns. Then, a little later, Yoshinaka made a little rift in the Minamoto lute by indulging in personal ambition and causing himself to be proclaimed as Shogun. He is sometimes called the "Morning Sun," or Asahi, Shogun. But his solar brilliance was doomed to a speedy and permanent eclipse upon the arrival of Yoshitsune. Yoshinaka was defeated and slain; some say that he committed seppuku. Before dying he put up a gallant fight and his beautiful mistress, clad in armor, fought by his side to the end.

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[4] W. E. Griffis, *The Fire-fly's Lovers,* "Benkei and the Bell."

From this time the real military commander on the Minamoto side was Yoshitsune. The story goes that when he suddenly appeared in the presence of the Shogun to be, attended by twenty horsemen, Yoritomo exclaimed: "It is as if the great father of us both were risen from the dead." We are also told that the possible leaders were tested by a kind of ordeal. Each was given a red-hot pitcher to hold and Yoshitsune alone had the requisite grit to grasp the vessel and hold it without flinching. His truly Napoleonic genius was speedily revealed in the signal victories of *Ichi-no-tani* and *Yashima.* The former, fought on March 21, 1184, deserves to be regarded as one of the great battles of Japanese history. It is sometimes said that a brown horse, representing the Taira, and a white horse, representing the Minamoto, were dispatched down the steep slope as a piece of divination, that the white horse reached the base and that the brown stumbled and fell. It is more probable that the horses, irrespective of color, were sent down the slope to find out whether it was a practicable descent for the army. Finding that the way was possible, Yoshitsune sent his horsemen like an avalanche into the fray. On this day fell the famous Taira chief, *Tadamori,* whose body was subsequently identified by the signed poem which was found in his helmet. The poem runs as follows:

> Twilight upon my path,
>   And for an inn to-night
> The shadow of a tree,
>   And for my host
> A flower.

In the battle of Yashima, Yoshitsune had a narrow escape and was only saved by the devotion of his old comrade, Tsuginobu, who interposed his body with the exclamation: "To die for my lord is not death. I have longed for such an end ever since I took the field."

The Taira now fled from the capital, taking with them, as the palladium of their cause, the child Emperor, Antoku. To preserve the forms of loyalty the Minamoto at once set up a new ruler. Antoku had two baby brothers and the ex-Emperor Go Shirakawa was asked to choose between them. One cried under the scrutiny and the other laughed, whereupon the latter was selected to be later enrolled among the sovereigns of Japan as *Go Toba*. On such small points the history of Japan sometimes turned.

The Battle of Dan-no-ura (1185)

The desertion of Kyoto by Taira Munemori, with the Child Emperor and the people of the court, brought foreboding to many hearts. The life on shipboard was in itself symbolic of a cause tossed to and fro on the waves of doubt. A passage in the *Heike Monogatari* may be quoted which vividly describes the situation:

> The imperial vessel floated like a dragon on the waves, a moving palace that knew no rest. Plunged in sorrow deep as the tide, their lives were frail as frosted grasses. At dawn the clamor of the seabirds on the spits increased their anguish, and at night the grating of the ships on the beach tormented them. When they saw the flocks of herons in the distant pines, their hearts sank, wondering whether they were the white flags of the Genji; and when the cry of the wild-geese was wafted from the offing, they trembled lest it might be the oar-boats of the foe by night. The keen breeze lashed their blackened eye-brows and painted faces, and the salt spray penetrated their delicate eyes, which homesick longing filled so oft with tears. For their green-curtained chambers of scarlet they had exchanged the earthen walls of the reed-hung cottages, and instead of the scented smoke of the braziers rose the briny fumes of the fishermen's driftwood. The features

of the court ladies, bereft of cosmetics, were so altered as hardly to be recognized.[5]

Meanwhile, events were hastening towards the final Taira tragedy. Yoshitsune in winning victories was at the same time winning new supporters. There were men like Tanso of Kumano, who pitted seven white cocks against seven red cocks in a cock fight and, upon the victory of the former, decided to join the Genji. The climax of the great internecine struggle came with the battle of *Dan-no-ura,* the Actium of the campaign, on April 25, 1185. It was not merely a great struggle, like Ichi-no-tani, but really one of the three or four decisive conflicts in all the history of Japan. The Taira side had some five hundred junks and there were seven hundred or thereabout on the side of the Minamoto. These were cumbered, it is true, with women and children, but the presence of noncombatants in no way contributed to lessen the bitterness of the fight. Nor was the result for a long time a matter of assurance. With the real Emperor and the "Three Sacred Treasures" on the Heike side, there were many who expected a Taira victory. It was even going hard with the Genji "when suddenly something that they at first took for a white cloud but which soon appeared to be a white banner floating in the breeze, came drifting over the two fleets from the upper air and finally settled on the stern of one of the Genji ships." This Yoshitsune took as a good omen sent by the War God, Hachiman. So, removing his helmet, he did obeisance, washing his hands in the salt tide. Then the battle went on with increasing vigor, till the rout of the Taira was complete. The suicide of the Emperor's grandmother, with her imperial charge in her arms is pathetically told in the *Heike Monogatari:*

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[5] *Heike Monogatari,* translated by A. L. Sadler, *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan,* Vol. XLIX, Part I, (September, 1921), p. 86.

> Then the Nii Dono, who had already resolved what she would do, donning a double outer dress of dark-grey mourning color, and tucking up the long skirts of her glossy silk *hakama*, put the Sacred Jewel under her arm, and the Sacred Sword in her girdle, and taking the Emperor into her arms, spoke this: "Though I am but a woman, I will not fall into the hands of the foe, but will accompany our Sovereign Lord. Let those of you who will follow me." And she glided softly to the gunwale of the vessel. . . . With a look of surprise and anxiety on his face he inquired of the Nii Dono: "Where is it you are going to take me, Ama ze?" Turning to her youthful Sovereign, with tears streaming down her cheeks, she answered: ". . . There is a pure land of happiness beneath the waves, another capital where no sorrow is. Thither it is that I am taking our Lord." And thus comforting him, and binding his long hair up in his dove-colored robe, blinded with tears the child sovereign put his beautiful little hands together and turned first to the east to say farewell to the deity of Ise and to Sho-Hachimangu, and then to the west and repeated the Nembutsu, after which the Nii Dono, holding him tightly in her arms and saying consolingly: "In the depths of the ocean we have a capital," sank with him at last beneath the waves. Ah, the pity of it that the gust of the spring wind of impermanence should so suddenly sweep away his flower form.[6]

Dan-no-ura lies about three miles from Shimonoseki, and two miles from Shimonoseki station, in a dense grove of pine trees, may still be seen the tomb of the hapless eighty-first Emperor, Antoku.

Meanwhile, in other directions, the fight was still being waged. The narrative proceeds to tell us how "the sound of the battle-cry raised on both sides, with the song of the turnip-headed arrows as they crossed each other's course, was startling to hear, audible, one would think, as far as the azure sky above and reëchoing downwards to the depths of the sea." [7]

But the Taira were soon in full flight and very fearful was the vengeance taken by the victors. Many escaped to land, where they became fugitives who avoided, even to succeeding generations, intercourse with their fellows. The women who were rescued became courtesans and the sea itself, in the imagination of the neighborhood, swarmed with angry ghosts.

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[6] *Heike Monogatari, loc. cit.,* p. 251.

[7] *Gempei Seisuiki. See* Aston, *Japanese Literature,* p. 136.

> The sailor by day [writes Dr. Griffis] hurried with bated breath past the scene of slaughter and unsubstantial life. The mariner by night, unable to anchor and driven by wind, spent the hours of darkness in prayer, while his vivid imagination converted the dancing phosphorescence into the white hosts of the Taira dead. Even to-day the Choshu peasant fancies he sees the ghostly armies baling out the sea with bottomless dippers, condemned thus to cleanse the ocean of the stain of centuries ago.[8]

Even the crabs of the locality are supposed to have stamped upon them the features of the Taira warriors, whence they are known as *Heike*.

The Minamoto vengeance

A terrible orgy of revenge upon the Taira family followed the Genji victory. The captured clansmen were barbarously treated whilst alive and dishonored when dead. Munemori, son of Kiyomori, was taken alive and sent caged all the five hundred miles to Kamakura. In the last stage a pitiful note is struck by the petition of one Saburo Maru to act as driver of the oxen in the sad procession. When permission was given, he "took from the bosom of his dress a driving rope that he kept about him, and, though his eyes were so blinded with tears that he could not see where he was going, he let the oxen find their own way, and so drove his master." [9] Arrived in Kamakura, Munemori was forced to walk barefoot seven times round the tomb of Yoshimoto and was then barbarously put to death. All the prominent

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[8] W. E. Griffis, *The Mikado's Empire,* p. 158.

[9] *Heike Monogatari, loc. cit.,* p. 259.

Taira clansmen were remorselessly hunted down, the last being the Prince Rokudai who was betrayed from his hiding place by the escape of his little white puppy. Though many efforts were made to save him, the last of the Heike suffered the fate of his elders.

The founding of Kamakura

If Yoshitsune in this last great campaign established his title securely as one of the great soldiers of Japan, it is with equal certainty that his elder brother, Yoritomo, must be adjudged one of the Empire's most consummate and constructive statesmen. Murdoch gives him the place of "one of the three greatest." He had prepared the way for a revolution which in no way merely imitated the achievement of the Fujiwaras. These had simply ruled through the Emperors in Kyoto. Yoritomo inaugurated a system of military government which managed affairs for the most part in spite of anything the Emperors could say or do. In order to make this possible it was plainly the part of wisdom to be at some distance from the imperial residence. Hence the choice of *Kamakura,* three hundred miles from Kyoto. The site was an old seat of the Minamoto family and had been selected some years before the battle of Dan-no-ura. Now, with Yoritomo in power, a new city arose which speedily rivaled even Kyoto in magnificence. From the merest hamlet it grew to become a city of a quarter of a million inhabitants. For 150 years Kamakura remained the administrative capital of Japan.

To-day, as one goes in forty minutes from Yokohama, Kamakura is seen shorn of its Twelfth-Century splendor, except for the "Daibutsu" and a few temples which have fortunately survived the earthquake of 1923. But the mighty shadow of Yoritomo still lies athwart the long humbled and diminished town and one cannot help reflecting somewhat sadly upon the stirring events which made Kamakura from 1186 to 1333 the busiest city in all Japan.

The fate of Yoshitsune

The fame of the great Minamoto Shogun has upon its escutcheon one ineffaceable blot which "not all great Neptune's tide" may wash away. In no small degree Yoritomo had owed his success to the military genius of his younger brother, Yoshitsune. Yet, when success was securely won, an unworthy spirit of jealousy took possession of the Shogun's soul, like that which turned Saul into a hypochondriac at the sight of David. As the maids of Israel sang, "Saul hath slain his thousands, but David his ten thousands," so the people of Japan began to declare that Yoshitsune was the greatest man in the Empire, and that Yoritomo's contribution to the welcome peace was small in comparison. Jealousy soon ripened into a set spirit of hostility, and Yoritomo not only ignored the splendid services which his brother had rendered to the cause, but even refused to allow the gallant young soldier to enter Kamakura. There is still preserved in one of the temples the pathetic letter in which Yoshitsune protests against this unbrotherly exclusion. "These many days," he writes, "I have lain here and could not gaze upon my brother's face. The bond of our blood brotherhood is sundered." For a while, it would appear, there was some hesitation on the Shogun's part. "One thing was done in the morning and another at night, and the Empire was in a lamentable state of suspense." But the will of Yoritomo soon hardened into the definite determination that his brother must be removed from his path.

There followed for Yoshitsune those eight years of fugitive existence which, like the flight of the Stuart prince in Scotland, have provided the art and drama of Japan so prolifically with romantic incident. With Benkei and a few stalwart bushi at his side, Yoshitsune went from refuge to refuge, always pursued by the inveterate hate of Yoritomo. Yoshitsune's beautiful mistress, Shizuka, too, accompanied her lover and has furnished some of the material for this exciting epic. One famous story tells of the narrow escape at the barrier post, where Benkei, who had meanwhile assumed the disguise of a Buddhist priest, misled the would-be captors of the hunted hero by beating him as though he had been but a laggard menial. To the guards at the barrier the act was proof positive that the beaten porter was anybody but Yoshitsune.[10] Nevertheless, the pursuit continued relentlessly till no further hope of eluding the spies of Yoritomo could be entertained. The common version of the end is that the persecuted warrior committed seppuku after all his companions had been slain in his defense. His head, preserved in saké, was sent to provide some grim degree of solace to the Shogun, unrestful and ill at ease among the splendors of Kamakura. But, as becomes the saga of one who has been termed variously the Richard I, the Bruce, the Bertrand du Guesclin, and the Bayard of Japan, legend has been busy in other directions. Some say that Yoshitsune lived on as a hero in the land of the Ainus to the far north. Others spread the extravagant fable that he reappeared on the continent of Asia in the person of that great "scourge of God," Jenghiz Khan. Of course, about all that exists to support such a fancy is the occurrence of the clan name, *Gen,* in some spellings of the conqueror's title. But the injured brother of the first Shogun lives best in the memory of Japan, where the schoolboys still play the game of Yoshitsune and Benkei, and display the features of the hero on their kites.

The beautiful Shizuka, bearing with her the mirror which her lord had given her, because it had once reflected his beloved features, wandered about homeless and destitute, until some kindly monks sent her on to Kamakura. There she sang pathetically before the tyrant of her love for the dead and was rewarded by being compelled to witness the slaughter of Yoshitsune's babe.

If Yoritomo was fortunate in that he was able to exploit the consummate generalship of his younger brother, he was equally so in having obtained a wife who is conspicuous among the most outstanding of the women of Japan. This was the Lady Masako, the elder daughter of Hojo Tokimasa, under whose tutelage Yoritomo had been placed by Kiyomori. Reference has already been made to the romantic story of how Masako purchased with a mirror her younger sister's dream of approaching felicity. Tokimasa himself had intended Masako for a more eligible suitor than the Minamoto fugitive, but Yoritomo settled the matter with a hasty elopement and the reluctant father-in-law profited ultimately by the escapade. The Lady Masako turned out to be a very strong-minded and capable wife, whose influence was exerted, mainly for good, for many years after the death of her husband.

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[10] *See* the *Atako No,* translated in F. Brinkley, *Japan,* III, 25 ff.

The Lady Masako

Yoritomo's chief title to fame rests upon the establishment of that remarkable dual system of government which endured until the Revolution of 1867 and baffled the intelligence of so many of the early visitors to Japan. The title *Shogun* ('Generalissimo') was indeed known long before the time of the Minamoto supremacy. It had been bestowed by several Emperors upon distinguished soldiers for services rendered. But from now on it becomes a designation of the military ruler who in fact superseded the authority of the Emperor, even while paying him the most scrupulous deference and a reverence bordering upon the worshipful.

The Bakufu

The name given to the Shogunal form of government is *Bakufu,* which may be translated as "camp office." It designates government from the tent, or field, rather than from the court. By this time the Kyoto Court had sunk to a degree of ineptitude which made some change exceedingly desirable. Administrative posts had been bought and sold shamelessly and the officials thus appointed had practically ceased to function to any purpose. There was indeed a splendid opportunity for a strong man, at a sufficient distance from the capital, to create a new administrative machine.

Briefly described, the Bakufu machine was as follows. At the head there was the Shogun, Commander in Chief of the whole military system. Beneath the Shogun there were three departments, each under a President (*betto*) in the confidence of the Shogun. The first department, known as the Central Staff Office (*samurai-dokoro*), had charge of war, police, and the punishment of crime. The second, the Civil Office (*man-dokoro*), was the department in charge of the general business of the Bakufu, including finance. The third, the Judicial Office (*monju-dokoro*), was both a high court of justice and a kind of legislature. In order to maintain control of the whole country, Yoritomo was persuaded to adopt furthermore a system by which High Constables and Land Stewards were appointed in every province. These officials, chosen from and controlled by Kamakura, were able to guard against or repress any rebellious movements which might show signs of becoming dangerous. This particular arrangement was opposed by the Emperor but was nevertheless carried out. "From that moment [says Brinkley] military feudalism may be said to have been established in Japan." It remained thus established till after the beginning of Meiji.

The establishment of the Bakufu, anticipating, as it did, the complete victory of the Minamoto, was due not merely to the expectation of military success, but may well be regarded as Yoritomo's real contribution to constructive statesmanship. In this connection Murdoch says: "While making himself Mayor of the Palace, he studiously kept at a distance of more than three hundred miles—a journey of four days for a swift courier—from the court and its frivolities, and while professing to restore the old institutions of Japan which had hopelessly outlived their usefulness, he supplemented them by institutions which were so vitally necessary to the changed and changing spirit of the time that they insensibly supplanted them."[11]

Yoritomo made two visits to Kyoto as Shogun, once in 1190 and again in 1195, three years after he had obtained from the Emperor ratification of the title. On the second occasion, the populace of the metropolis was dazzled by the pomp and pageantry of his train, a pomp purposely displayed as a symbol of his power.

Then in 1198, when his glory was at its zenith, came the untimely end. Yoritomo was engaged in opening a new bridge when suddenly, as he rode across, he beheld the ghost of his murdered brother rise from the water. The horse, too, was aware of the specter and reared, throwing the terrified Shogun to the ground. The injured man lingered till the following year and then succumbed, at the early age of fifty-three. Few men have left a more profound impression upon the history and institutions of their country than this great Minamoto statesman.

With the death of Yoritomo ends the period of Gempei.

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[11] James Murdoch, *History of Japan*, I, 372.

CHAPTER XIII

THE HOJO REGENCY (1199-1333)

The sons of Yoritomo

Yoritomo died, as we have seen, after fifteen years of almost unmitigated absolutism. He was buried on a hilltop overlooking the magnificent city he had dreamed into being, a site now surrounded by rice swamps and fields of millet. With the body of Yoritomo the genius of his descendants seemed deposited in the sumptuous tomb. The two sons, who, with their father, are included under the title of "the three Shoguns," possessed nothing of their father's ability and nothing of the sagacity of their high-spirited mother, the Lady Masa. First came *Yoriiye,* aged eighteen, with little or no liking for the cares of office but, in the contrary direction, with a very decided penchant for handball and other sports. When litigants appeared before him with some question as to the division of property, this "thick-headed, muscular wastrel," as Murdoch calls him, was wont to settle the matter with an impatient dash of his ink brush across the map. Yoriiye rapidly drifted into habits of dissipation, in which indeed he seems to have been encouraged by his maternal grandfather, Tokimasa. He was displaced in 1203 and found refuge in a monastery. But, after a very brief interval, he was murdered and his younger brother, *Sanetomo,* put up in his place. There was, however, no intention on the part of his mother's family that Sanetomo should rule. He had, indeed, some undeveloped gifts in the direction of rulership but was rather better endowed as a poet. The real power in the state remained with Yoritomo's widow and her father, the Hojo. Nevertheless, Sanetomo continued to hold the title of Shogun until he too was assassinated in 1219. The murderer was *Kugyo,* the second son of Yoriiye, who had become, young as he was, the High Priest of the great Hachiman temple at Kamakura. Kugyo chose a dark night and did his fell work so expeditiously that he got away with his uncle's head without being discovered. Shortly before, Sanetomo had given one of his hairs to a retainer as a souvenir, and this, as in some similar cases, was regarded as an equivalent for the whole body and so cremated.

The Regents

With the direct line of Yoritomo now extinct (since Kugyo was a celibate priest), the Lady Masa and her father had now undisputed possession of power. The Nun Shogun, as Masako was called, since some years earlier she had made an impressive but wholly fictitious leave-taking from the world, died in 1225, after a most remarkable career. She is entitled to be considered the most outstanding female figure in Japan since the Empress Jingo. But the Hojos continued to act as Regents, or *Shikken,* from father to son, for some nine generations. So we have a curious new development in the governmental system. Instead of a merely dual arrangement, with Tenno and Shogun, we have now a three-decker system, with Tenno and Shogun equally under the domination of the Shikken. In fact, before the end of the period, a further complication was added, since the Shikken themselves became "Shadow Regents," whose power was subordinated to that the the *Kanryo* ('Tutors'). For the most part, however, the Hojo Regents were able and skillful enough to maintain their ascendancy. As for the Emperors, there is little to be said worth the mentioning. There were thirteen of them altogether in the period and only one of them, *Go Toba,* the Emperor who as a child of four had been selected because he laughed, displayed much natural capacity. We shall have something to say of him later, but we may here mention that he was celebrated as much for his expertness in the game of football as for anything he achieved imperially. He had also interest in poetry, music, hunting, horse racing, archery, gambling, and cock fighting. Murdoch says he was what might be called "a good sport."

One Emperor of the period, *Shijo* (1233-1242), owes his fame in the history books to his trick of waxing, or soapstoning, the palace floors, in order to enjoy the spectacle of lords and ladies slipping down with some loss of their accustomed dignity. Nemesis overtook this merry monarch and awarded him a broken neck, the result of being "hoist with his own petard." It is, however, only fair to add that this Mikado was but a boy of eleven or twelve; so our sense of the enormity of his offense is much diminished.

And now, paralleling this line of puppet Emperors, from *Tsuchimikado* to the accession of *Go Daigo*, we have a still less significant line of "Shadow Shoguns," eight in number, from the time of Sanetomo's assassination till a similar fate befell Nariyoshi Shino, in 1338. They were selected from weak members of the imperial house and from the Fujiwara family, but every one of the eight was deposed by the Hojos after a little brief pretense of authority. For one of these Shadow Shoguns a Regent showed his contempt by putting him into a palanquin with his heels in the air and packing him off to the capital. Before the end of the Hojo domination an even absurder travesty of government was to be seen in the selection of a Regent of the age of six years who was entirely controlled by a Tutor, just as the Shogun was supposed to be controlled by the Regent, and the Emperor by the Shogun. Hojo Tokimasa is said to have connived at the dissipation of his grandsons in order to get the power into the hands of his own clan.

The Hojos

The illegitimate manner in which the Hojo Shikken, or Regents, obtained and exercised their power in the State has always been bitterly resented by the Japanese people. Even the peasants, says Griffis, remembered the years of usurpation and have bestowed the name of "Hojo bug" on one of the most voracious and destructive of pests. Yet it has been a temptation to dwell too much on the iniquities and irregularities of the Hojo rule, and Murdoch is probably right in describing some accounts which have been given of the period as a mere travesty of history. The government of the Hojos, after its status had been established, was far superior to anything that was likely to emanate from Kyoto. It was even better than anything that was being enjoyed in contemporary Europe. The nine Hojo Regents, on the whole, show a most unusual succession of capable men. Some of them were men of very great ability indeed. *Yasutoki,* who was Shikken from 1224 to 1242, was an ardent advocate of even-handed justice. He introduced the plan of the old "Model Emperors" of China, who placed gongs and bells outside their palaces so that suppliants for justice might state their wants and be admitted to the presence. He gave up the first fifteen days in every month to the hearing of causes. It was Yasutoki who drew up the famous Hojo Code of fifty-one articles to which allusion will be made presently. Yasutoki's grandson, *Tsunetoki,* was Shikken from 1242 to 1246 and was succeeded by *Tokiyori,* who governed, though nominally succeeded by his son, till 1263. Tokiyori has the reputation of having been a very able administrator, though he retired for a considerable time to the seclusion of a monastery. With this Regency is associated the legend (possibly nothing more) of *Aoto Fujitsuna,* which brings a welcome breath of democracy into the aristocratic chronicle. Aoto was a simple peasant who was arrested and brought before Tokiyori for criticizing the extravagance and luxury of the Kamakura palaces. The Shikken, instead of punishing the critic, appointed him to office, and, later on, as a judge on the bench, "he was the terror of venal officials, injustice and bribery being known to him as if by sorcery; while every detected culprit was sure to be disgracefully cashiered." Tokiyori's son, *Tokimune,* grew up to render illustrious service to his country in the repelling of the great armada of Kublai Khan of which we shall speak presently. For this alone he deserves the gratitude of posterity.

The Shokyu disturbance

Till we come to the very end of the period there was but one occurrence which appeared even to threaten the Hojo supremacy. This was the attempt on the part of Go Toba to assert himself, an attempt known as the Shokyu disturbance. Go Toba, who, as we have seen, had many elements of greatness had they only been synthesized by self-restraint, was like some other of the cloistered Emperors in that he was not content in retirement to withhold his hand from state affairs. He brought about the abdication of his son, Tsuchimikado, at the age of fifteen and, without consulting the Bakufu, set up another son, *Juntoku,* aged thirteen. He too was displaced in 1221 and a baby son of the deposed monarch substituted. It was evident that the neurotic Toba II was aiming at being something more than king-maker, even before his issuance of the decree depriving the Regent Yoshitoki of his office. Kamakura was amazed at this extraordinary assertion of imperial power, but the energetic measures of the Regent and the Lady Masako were equal to the emergency. An army was dispatched to Kyoto under Yasutoki, the son of the Regent. He asked his father what he should do if he encountered the Emperor in person at the head of his army. Yoshitoki replied: "The Sovereign cannot be opposed. If His Majesty be in personal command, strip off your armor and cut your bow-strings. But if the Emperor be not in command, fight to the death. If you are defeated, I will never see your face again." Fortunately for the Hojos, the Emperor was not in command, so the imperial effort in the direction of independence collapsed like a pricked bubble. It only remained for the Bakufu to dispose of the three ex-Emperors, and these were speedily sent to banishment in Oki, Sado, and elsewhere. In their places of exile they suffered considerable privations and never returned. The authority of the Shikken was not again disputed till the close of the period.

The Hojo Code

Probably the most important achievement of the Hojo epoch, apart from the victory over the Mongols, was the compilation of the Hojo Code of Judicature, known in Japan, from the name of the year period, as the *Joei Shikimoku*. It was framed by the Regent Yasutoki, with the help of a famous Buddhist priest, and promulgated in 1232. It is interesting to compare it with the nearly contemporary Magna Charta. The old Code of Taiho was still the basis of jurisprudence in Japan, though many other codes had in the meantime emanated from Nara or from Kyoto. The rise of the feudal system, however, had rendered the Taiho Code all but obsolete, since it had recognized the complete centralization of power and property in the Emperor. The Taiho Code was not repealed, but, under the influence of the Kamakura Bakufu, was gradually superseded by the house rules of the Minamoto. Yasutoki in his compilation gave these the force of law and so furnished a precedent for subsequent feudal enactments such as the Ashikaga Code of 1335.

The Hojo Code consisted of fifty-one articles, not very systematically arranged, but of great interest as reflecting the social condition of the times. They deal with such subjects as the keeping up of Shinto and Buddhist shrines and services, the duties and responsibilities of Provincial Protectors, Governors, Lords of Manors, and Land Reeves, the conditions on which fiefs might be held, the punishment of such crimes as rebellion, forgery, adultery, slander, removal of landmarks, etc., the laws as to inheritance and official and ecclesiastical preferment. Slavery is not unknown but the conditions are not harsh. Farmers are allowed to migrate from place to place, and the tax is lowered from seven-tenths of the annual produce to one half. Punishments seem to be restricted to the confiscation of fiefs, banishment, and (in extreme cases) death. There seems to have been a genuine effort "to make the administration of justice simple, prompt, and pure." Every member of the Council had to take a solemn oath invoking upon him the vengeance of heaven if he departed from the law in any particular.[1]

The Mongol invasion

While the Hojos were thus shaping the domestic destinies of Japan, great changes had been taking place upon the continent. The Chinese Sung dynasty had been assailed by the Khitan, or Liao,[2] Tatars, and, to rid themselves of these unwelcome visitants, they had called in the Chin Tatars as allies. These, however, after performing their assigned task effectively, had concluded to stay and so for a century China south of the Yangtze was under the Sungs and to the north under the Chins. Then came the devastating whirlwind from Central Asia which submerged all the warring elements in one common destruction. The campaigns of Jenghiz Khan and his Mongols changed the history of almost all Asia and a considerable part of Europe and the shadow of the Mongol terror fell upon Japan. In 1260, the grandson of the conqueror, Kublai Khan, was proclaimed Emperor of China. He did not obtain undisputed authority for the Yuan dynasty, as his line was named, until 1279, but as early as 1271 he was sufficiently established to take stock of his opportunities eastward as well as his possessions westward. Soon came to him a native of Korea, which country had been assimilated about 1263, with complaints about the pirates from Japan and incidentally a hint as to the wealth (largely fictitious) of the island Empire. Little persuasion was needed to fire the imagination and ambition of the Great Khan. A letter followed, couched in the usual haughty and arrogant terminology, commencing: "We, by the grace and decree of Heaven, Emperor [*Huang Ti*] of Great Mongolia, to the King [*Wang*] of Japan." It proceeded to order "friendly intercourse" with the alternative of war. The Regent of the time was Hojo Tokimune, sixth of his line, and he was ill disposed to brook the parvenu's pride. So embassies passed across the sea to the number of six, only to be sent back without reply. Meanwhile Japan was bracing herself for the inevitable conflict, as Athens and Sparta braced themselves against the threats of the Great Monarchs. There was a curious atmosphere of tension and expectancy. Comets and other celestial phenomena warned the land of impending catastrophe. The fiery Buddhist revivalist, Nichiren,[3] who has been described as "a strange compound of Hebrew prophet, Dominican friar, and John Knox," preached with apocalyptic fervor of the coming crisis. Tokimune, himself a religious enthusiast, of the Zen persuasion, met the occasion with calm confidence and the resolve to prepare. The Emperor Komei, father of the late Meiji Tenno, once wrote a little poem which ran as follows: "To the utmost of thy soul's power do thy best. Then kneel alone and pray for the Divine Wind of Ise that drove back the Tatar fleet." This was the general spirit of Japan at this critical moment of the Thirteenth Century.

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[1] *See* translation of the Hojo Code by John Carey Hall, *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan.* 1906.

[2] "Liao" means "iron," whence the Chin (gold) Tatars said: "Iron rusts, but gold endures."

Then, in 1274, came the first mutterings of the storm. The advance guard was only a force of some 25,000 Mongols with a few thousand Korean auxiliaries. But it was large enough to secure a landing at Tsushima, where the little garrison of 200 doughty heroes fought until the last man died. Then the invaders went on to Iki, where they were met by the assembled clans, and an inconclusive struggle took place which was, however, sufficiently severe to give the Mongols a taste of the quality of Nipponese valor. The result was that, when symptoms appeared of the brewing of a tornado, the Mongols, to save their ships, decided that a temporary retirement was the better part of valor.

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[3] *See* Masaharu Anesaki, *Life of Nichiren,* Chap. V, "The Mongol Peril," p. 52.

It was certain, of course, that Kublai Khan would accept no such termination to his grandiose plan. He was now absolute sovereign of all China, and far beyond, almost illimitably, to the west. Was it to be thought of that his ambitions were to be cheated by the "dwarf" islanders off his eastern frontiers? The preparations must be on a more adequate scale. So ships were built in such numbers that the Chinese poets describe the hills as in mourning for their stricken forests. European engines of war, possibly suggested by Kublai's Venetian guest, were added to the already formidable martial paraphernalia of Chinese and Mongol. In due course, over 100,000 warriors, with many auxiliaries, were embarked in a fleet which was estimated as consisting of 3,500 ships. It was the most imminent peril Japan had ever been called upon to meet and she met it with the characteristic spirit. While the temples hummed with prayers and grew dim with clouds of incense, the warriors were preparing themselves. Girding on their weapons they went forth to meet the foe. Incredible deeds of daring were performed as the islanders sallied out to challenge the "Great Armada," with its "iron tubes" for explosives [4] and its great slings and crossbows. The issue might well seem to have been already decided in favor of the Mongol, but for what the Japanese have been quite legitimately wont to regard as an intervention of Providence. On August 14, 1281, there came up a terrible typhoon, "the Great Wind" of Japanese history and ere long the ships of Kublai Khan, with their swarms of ferocious soldiery, were scattered like pieces of driftwood over the surface of the ocean. What happened to many of them is unknown, but the most were driven upon the rocks and smashed to pieces. Thousands of Chinese touched Japanese soil only to be seized as slaves, while very few returned to tell their crestfallen master the fate of the expedition.[5]

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[4] *See* W. G. Aston, *Japanese Literature,* p. 180. On page 182 Mr. Aston says: "The word rendered cannon is *teppo,* lit. 'iron tube.' It properly means a matchlock. But, according to the encyclopedia called the Sansaidzuye, neither cannon nor matchlocks were known to the Chinese before the sixteenth century. Matchlocks were first introduced into Japan by Mendez Pinto and his companions in 1543, and were not known to the Chinese until later. The inference is that this passage, and probably the whole chapter, is a later interpolation."

For a vivid account of the Mongol invasion and the destruction of the Great Armada, see Nakaba Yamada, *Ghenko.*

It may be interesting to add here two quotations, one from Marco Polo and one from a Japanese annalist, descriptive of this event. The Venetian writes as follows:

> Cublay, having heard of the immense wealth that was in this island, formed a plan to get possession of it. They sailed until they reached the island aforesaid, and there they landed and occupied the open country and the villages, but did not succeed in getting possession of any city or castle. And so a great disaster befell them, as I shall now relate. You must know that there was much ill-will between those two barons, so that one would do nothing to help the other. And it came to pass that there arose a north wind which blew with great fury, and caused great damage along the coast of that island, for its harbors were few. It blew so hard that the Great Kaan's fleet could not stand against it. And when the chiefs saw that they came to the conclusion that if the ships remained where they were the whole navy would perish. So they all got on board and made sail to leave the country. But when they had gone about four miles they came to a small island on which they were driven ashore in spite of all that they could do; and a large part of the fleet was wrecked, and a great multitude of the force perished, so that there escaped only some 30,000 men who took refuge on this island.[6]

In the *Taiheiki,* an historical romance of a subsequent century, the Japanese version of the final catastrophe runs as follows:

> Now General Wan of Great Yuan, having cast off the moorings of his 70,000 ships, at the hour of the Dragon on the seventeenth

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[5] *See* Admiral Ballard, *Sea Power in the History of Japan.*

[6] *Marco Polo* (Yule-Cordier edition), II, 255.

> day of the eighth month, started for Nagato and Suwo by way of Moji and Akamagaseki. His fleet was midway in its course when the weather, which had been windless with the clouds at rest, changed abruptly. A mass of black clouds arising from the north-east covered the sky, the wind blew fiercely, the tumultuous billows surged up to heaven, the thunder rolled and the lightning dashed against the ground so abundantly that it seemed as if great mountains were crumbling down and high heaven falling to the earth. The 70,000 war-ships of the foreign pirates either struck upon cragged rocks and were broken to atoms or whirling round in the surging eddies, went down with all hands.[7]

Japan may well look back to this wonderful deliverance as England looks back to the destruction of the Spanish Armada. But the memory of the terror inspired by the Mongol menace survived until quite recent years in the language of the Japanese mother inquiring of her unquiet offspring: "Do you think the Mogu are coming?"

It is significant that in 1905, just after Japan had escaped a comparable danger through the destruction of the Russian fleet by Admiral Togo, the Shikken Tokimune was gratefully remembered by being raised to the second degree of the first rank of the nobility in the peerage of Japan.

The double imperial line

The familiar dictum of Shakespeare to the effect that "the evil that men do lives after them" has a striking illustration in the will of the eighty-eighth Emperor, *Go Saga* (1243-1246). This will provided that the imperial succession should alternate between the descendants of his two sons. Complication was added to the situation by the provision that the one line should be rich and the other poor, a provision secured simply enough by leaving all the family wealth to one side of the house. Such a plan was bound to play into the hands of the Kamakura Regents. One side could be depended upon to spy upon the other in the interests of the Shikken. Matters came to a head in 1298, when the Regent

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[7] Aston, *op. cit.*, p. 178.

Sadatoki (1284-1301), ordered that each line should rule for a period of ten years at a time. The multiplication of cloistered Emperors entailed by this arrangement—between 1298 and 1304 there were no less than five of these alive at the same time—was the least of the ills which resulted. The fall of the Hojos was another result, good or bad according to the point of view. Still another was the correlative of this, the energetic effort of the Emperor *Go Daigo* (Daigo II), with the assistance of a little group of distinguished patriots, to restore the prestige, now at a very low ebb, of the Mikado.

Go Daigo (1318-1339)

Fortune at this juncture certainly seemed to favor the desire of Go Daigo to reassert the imperial authority, for it is difficult to conceive of any Regent less qualified to uphold the prestige of Kamakura than *Hojo Takatoki,* Go Daigo's contemporary. Everything that is giddy and corrupt is exemplified in Takatoki. His time was largely spent with actors and in dog fights. Dogs, says the *Taiheiki,* "were collected by way of taxes, the result being that many people in the provinces took steps to breed dogs and presented them by tens and scores at Kamakura, where they were fed on fish and fowl, kept in kennels having gold and silver ornaments, and carried in palanquins to take the air. . . . Thus the city of Kamakura presented the curious spectacle of a town filled with well-fed dogs, clothed in tinsel and brocades, and totalling from four to five thousand."

In 1326, the Regent "entered religion" and retired to a monastery, but without amending his ways or relinquishing a shred of his power. Conditions were such that the prediction was easy to the effect that with Takatoki was passing the glory of the Hojos.

Over against the slackness of Takatoki we may set the energy of the new Emperor, the first for many a long day who was not a child at his accession. Go Daigo had great ability and from the day of his coming into power he employed this ability to gain support sufficient for the securing of his independence. He made a secret canvass of the country for adherents. Taking advantage of the ravages made by pestilence, he visited the Buddhist monasteries to distribute relief. In the great fortress monasteries, such as Hiyeizan, he found promising military material, though Yoritomo many years before had forbidden the monks to carry arms. In Hiyeizan he was shrewd enough to establish his son, Morinaga, as Prince Abbot. He also found recruits among the scattered warriors of the Taira and other clans. One of these was the great patriot soldier, *Kusunoki Masashige,* of whom it is said Go Daigo learned in a dream. Yet, just before the Emperor's plans were complete, the dog-fighting Regent awoke to the peril of the situation. The Emperor's sagest and strongest counselor, Fujiwara Suketomo, was seized and slain, but the real clash was deferred till 1326, when the question of the succession was once again to the front because of the death of the Prince Imperial, that is, the heir on the other side of the house. Go Daigo was insisting on the selection of his own son, in defiance of Go Saga's eccentric will. This open effort on the part of the Emperor to break the Hojo tyranny led to a fresh and unexpected outburst of energy on the part of the Shikken. The monastery of Hiyeizan was stormed and taken, but not before the Prince Abbot and Kusunoki had escaped. The Emperor also became a fugitive and, after being three days without food, was captured and sent to the isle of Oki. The writer remembers one of the very last historical plays performed in the Imperial Theater at Tokyo, just before the earthquake, which powerfully rendered the story of this exile and its termination. In 1332, it certainly appeared that a quietus had been placed upon the ambition of the Emperor to rule as well as reign.

But the loyal Kusunoki and Prince Morinaga had still to be reckoned with, so that, in spite of some further Hojo successes, the year 1333 opened favorably for the Emperor's cause. Kusunoki established communication with the Emperor at Oki and an escape was planned and cleverly carried to success. Go Daigo left the castle in a lady's palanquin and, crossing the straits in a fisherman's boat, beneath a load of seaweed, succeeded in joining his friends.

Downfall of the Hojos

On the escape of the Emperor the distracted Shikken was misguided enough to bestow a military commission on *Ashikaga Takauji*, a warrior of Minamoto descent, but one whose name has become almost a synonym for selfish ambition. This capable but untrustworthy tool simply bided his time and then went with all his forces over to the side of the Emperor. The result was the speedy capture of Kyoto, which was hurriedly evacuated by the puppet Emperor, *Kogon.* He, the creature of the Hojos, with two other ex-Emperors resident in the capital, who had precipitately fled, were captured and conducted back to the city. Then followed the brilliant campaign of one of the great soldiers of Japan, *Nitta Yoshisada.* This famous man, also a Minamoto, but of that unblemished loyalty and heroic temper which have united him with Kusunoki in the undying affection of the Japanese people, is one around whom romantic story has continually gathered. His capture and burning of the city of Kamakura on July 5, 1333, is a turning point of Japanese history. The capital of the Regents was defended by an army of not less than 100,000 men and by its natural place of vantage by the sea. Both defences alike were splendidly overcome. The cliff, known as Imuraga-saki, still recalls the story of how Yoshisada saw his way below barred by the *chevaux de frise* at the foot of the cliff and by the boats a little off the shore. Brinkley puts the matter prosaically when he says that Yoshisada took advantage of a low tide. One likes, nevertheless, to cherish the legend which tells how the hero flung his sword from the top of the cliff into the waves as an offering to the ocean kami and prayed for the divine aid. Immediately, says the story, the tide retreated and the imperial force swept on to victory and vengeance. The great city which Yoritomo had made so beautiful and so prosperous was in the course of a few hours reduced to heaps of smoldering ashes. In the last great struggle the Hojos did not betray their knightly tradition. One warrior, Takashige, with a hundred picked men, almost broke through in an attack upon Nitta Yoshisada. When he found this hopeless, he galloped back to the defeated Shikken, who was just drinking his farewell cup of saké before committing suicide. Takashige took the cup from his master's hand and drained it thrice. Then he too committed seppuku, passing on the cup to Dojun. Dojun followed his example and, as he pulled out the exposed intestines with his own hand, he cried: "This gives a fine relish to the wine." So Takatoki, last of the Hojo Shikken, died, not unattended by heroes to the world below.

The remaining forces of the Regent, which had been battering without success at the army of Kusunoki, at Chihaya, were soon compelled to surrender, and on July 17, 1333, the restoration of the *Kemmu era* was celebrated by the triumphant return of Go Daigo to Kyoto.

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CHAPTER XIV

THE HOJO CULTURE

Buddhism in the Hojo period

In our last chapter we gave some description of the downfall of the Hojo Regents and the restoration (for a very brief interval) of the imperial rule. But before speaking more particularly of this restoration and its failure, it is necessary to pass in review two or three aspects of the Regency which may be termed cultural.

The first of these aspects which invites attention is the religious. A Japanese writer has spoken of the rapid spread of Buddhism in the Empire "as if feeding a fire with perfectly dry hay." This is in the main true, but in the first two periods of the Buddhist propaganda not a little of the fuel came from China. This is true of the six Nara sects which flourished in the Eighth Century. It is true also of the two Kyoto sects which to so great an extent superseded the earlier schools in the Ninth Century. But in the time of the Hojos we have the rise of some very remarkable Buddhist sects which are in large part due to native genius and zeal. What made these so-called Kamakura sects in some respects so strikingly parallel in their developments with the religious movements which contemporaneously were reviving Christianity in Europe we may not know. There is much in the contemporary history of India and of China, as well as of Europe and Japan, to suggest the passing of a great religious wave clear across the Eurasiatic continent.

The movement in Japan may be said to have begun with the rise and teaching of certain distinguished religious reformers who were reacting strongly from the "prosperous and degenerate" Buddhism of the Kyoto court. There was reaction also from the prevalent pessimism of Kyoto Buddhism and from the failure to find salvation in one's own efforts.

Most of the new teachers came from the Tendai school. Such was *Genshin* who, though he never left the Tendai, must be considered one of the forerunners of the Amida school. Of him, says Dr. Reischauer: "His three small volumes on Paradise, the Intermediate State, and Hell have exerted a great influence and should be of special interest to western readers, especially to students of Dante."[1] Then came *Ryonin* (1072-1132), with his clear-cut teaching as to Amida Buddha and the reiterated formula *Namu Amida Butsu,* which gained for his sect the name of *Nembutsu.*[2] Both of these teachers, however, were heralds rather than apostles of the Kamakura sects.

First among the real religious founders of the period is *Genku,* commonly known as *Honen Shonin.* He was born about 1130 and as a child was about to slay the man who had mortally wounded his father, when the dying parent urged him to cast away vengeance and seek enlightenment. So Genku entered Hiyeizan and studied Tendai. But later he turned from what had become a religion of despair to a religion of hope and taught salvation through faith in Amida and his Paradise, though still using the ritual formula. So Honen became, in 1175, the founder (in Japan) of the *Jodo* ('Pure Land') sect, with its doctrine of future blessedness through the merits of Amida. Japanese Buddhism makes distinction between *ji-riki,* or salvation by one's own merits, and *ta-riki,* or salvation by the merits of another. Jodo is not altogether one or the other, since the use of the *Nembutsu* is necessary for the believer. It is, nevertheless, an advance on previous systems and gained in course of time as protégés a number of the Emperors. At the present day the membership of Jodo constitutes it the second largest Buddhist denomination in Japan.[3]

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[1] A. K. Reischauer, *Studies in Japanese Buddhism,* pp. 102 ff.

[2] *Ibid.,* pp. 104 ff.

A certain great disciple of Genku, *Shinran Shonin*, soon passed beyond the teaching of his master by rejecting the ji-riki doctrine entirely and by teaching salvation through faith in Amida Buddha alone. "We have nothing to do," he said, "with salvation; we have but to believe." [4]

Shinran Shonin (1173-1263), is one of the most interesting of the Buddhist fathers. Visitors to the great Western Hongwanji at Kyoto, one of the most magnificent of Japanese shrines, may still see the image of Shinran, carved with his own hand as a gift to his daughter (for the Shin priests are not celibate). After the saint's death, the ashes remaining from the cremation were mixed with lacquer and used for the varnishing of the effigy. Shinran entered one of the Hiyeizan monasteries at the age of eight, to the Abbot's protests making answer:

> 'Tis vain to wait until to-morrow:
> Life is like the full-bloomed cherry-blossom,
> Which even in the midnight will be scattered,
> Should the wind blow.

At the age of twenty-nine he was converted to Amidaism by the preaching of Honen and two years later founded the sect, known in full as *Jodo Shinshu*, the True Pure Land sect, now the largest of all the Buddhist schools in Japan. In this sect the distinction between priest and layman is abolished; marriage and the eating of flesh are permitted; and much else is taught and practised which varies from other forms of the faith. Shinran wrote a famous book in six volumes, the *Kyogo-Sho-monrui* ('The Analects of Doctrine, Practice and Attainment'), and died at the age of eighty-nine, "true to the end to his determination not to know anything but Amida and salvation in his Western Paradise."

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[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 106 ff.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 108 ff.

Just prior to the establishment of the Shin system another sect arose which was destined to exercise great influence upon the history of Japan. In this case the teaching was foreign, for *Zen Buddhism* was introduced from India (where it is known as *Dhyana* ('Meditation') by way of southern China. The founder of Dhyana was the great Indian sage, *Bodhidharma,*[5] who is regarded as the twenty-eighth successor of Gautama and the first patriarch of Chinese Buddhism. He reached China in 520 and soon attained prodigious fame for his feats of meditation. As "the wall-gazing saint," who meditated for nine years before a wall, he became the original of the Japanese toy, to which is given the name of Daruma, so weighted that nothing can destroy its poise. It was in one of these prolonged meditations that the tea plant first grew up from the severed eyelashes of the saint. Bodhidharma had cut off his lashes to prevent himself from sleeping, and the decoction made from the tea plant made such sacrifice needless for the future. In spite of the fact that the saint's feet were worn off by his wall-gazing exploit, Bodhidharma is again credited with walking across the waters of the Yangtze. His last adventure was an ascension to Paradise in so much of a hurry that he left one shoe behind in the coffin. He taught that salvation was to be gained by meditation rather than by the use of prayers, the reading of sutras, or by devotion to good works. His doctrine was preached first in Japan by *Eisai,* about 1191. This teacher, like the others mentioned, had been at Hiyeizan but was satisfied with nothing till his second visit to China when he became a convert to Bodhidharma's form of religion. He was invited in 1201 to come to Kamakura, and so began the connection of Zen with the militarists of the Empire. It is also explained that the discipline of Zen was particularly congenial to the spirit of the samurai and also that there was common to the Zen Buddhists and the bushi a general acceptance of Confucian ethics.

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[5] *Ibid.,* pp. 74, 75.

In some respects the founder of the fourth of the Kamakura sects is the most interesting of the great Buddhist teachers. Professor Lloyd calls Nichiren "the greatest and most striking personality in the whole of Japanese Buddhist literature." [6] Professor Anesaki opens his interesting biography as follows:

> If Japan ever produced a prophet or a religious man of prophetic zeal, Nichiren was the man. He stands almost a unique figure in the history of Buddhism, not only because of his persistence through hardship and persecution, but for his unshaken conviction that he himself was the messenger of Buddha, and his confidence in the future of his religion and country. Not only one of the most learned men of his time but most earnest in his prophetic aspirations, he was a strong man of combative temperament, an eloquent speaker, a powerful writer, and a man of tender heart. He was born in 1222, the son of a fisherman, and died in 1282, a saint and a prophet.[7]

Nichiren early passed from under the influence of the Shingon sect to that of the Tendai, thence to the denunciation of them both and indeed of all the current religion of the time. In striking contrast to the "live and let live" attitude of the other Buddhist sects, he denounced everything but his own teaching as treasonable and as an invention of the devil. When we ask what this teaching was, we are compelled to answer that there was nothing which was precisely new. Nichiren advocated a return to the "pristine purity" of the Buddhism of Çakya Muni, but he betrayed ignorance of what this was by pinning his faith to the scripture known as the *Hokkekyo,* a writing of much later time and of very different doctrinal trend. As Reischauer points out, Nichiren's significance is not that he taught new truths but that he adopted a positive, and even belligerent, attitude toward the other Buddhistic sects. Such an attitude made a stormy career inevitable and cast over him from time to time the shadow of death. In 1271 he was arrested and tried for high treason. "Behold, the Pillar of Japan is falling," he cried, as the soldiers closed round the giant monk and carried him off to the execution ground on the beach at Kamakura. The writer will never forget his emotion in walking along that shore and suddenly getting, through the long avenue of trees, the precise view of the Temple of Hachiman which Nichiren got when he launched his famous appeal to the War God. The prayer ended as follows: "When to-night, I, Nichiren, shall be beheaded and go to the Paradise of Vulture Peak, I shall declare before our Lord, Çakya Muni, that thou, Hachiman, and the Sun Goddess, have not fulfilled your oaths. Art thou not afraid of that?"[8] Then, presently, as he stretched out his neck for the sword, a lightning flash disabled the executioner, and ere long came the reprieve which gave the prophet many a long year for warning and exhortation.

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[6] A. Lloyd, "Formative Elements of Japanese Buddhism," *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan,* 1908.

[7] Masaharu Anesaki, *Nichiren, the Buddhist Prophet,* p. 3.

Nichiren's great opportunity came in connection with the menace of the Mongol invasion. His predictions of this imminent danger gave him a tremendous amount of popular support. So, in course of time, the "Ishmael of Buddhism" became the "Lotus of the Law" and the founder of the new sect called after his name. He died on November 14, 1282, surrounded by his disciples and reciting with them the Stanzas of Eternity. The last of these runs as follows:

Thus my constant solicitude is
How can all beings
Be led to the incomparable Way,
And ere long attain Buddhahood?

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[8] *Ibid.*, pp. 56 ff.

Where Nichiren died is built the Hommonji, and the saint's bones, enclosed in a reliquary of rock crystal, repose on a jeweled table supported by eight green tortoises, before which burns a perpetual lamp.

The four Kamakura sects mentioned remain to-day the strongest of the fifty recognized by the Japanese Government and occupy 53,000 out of the 72,000 existing temples.

Hojo literature

"The Heian literature," says a Japanese writer, "is like the *Kaido* drooping after rain; that of the Kamakura period resembles the plum-blossom which exhales its perfume in the snow and frost." Certainly, if there is less of it than during the earlier classical period, what has come down to us is at once more virile and more serious. This is due to the fact that the interruption of communication with China brought about a greater independence of thought, while the great Buddhist reformers themselves contributed appreciably to the freshening of the intellectual atmosphere.

The monogatari of the Heian period, mostly written by women, give place to the historical romances which deal with the stirring episodes of the war between Taira and Minamoto or the national uprising against the might of the Mongol. Many of these, such as the *Hogen* and the *Heike Monogatari*, suitably condensed, would at once claim the attention and the interest of the western reader.

Poetry is represented at its best by the famous anthology known as the *Hyaku-nin-isshu*,[9] ('Single Songs of a Hundred Poets'), from which a poem of the Emperor Tenchi has already been quoted. The compilation of this "Century of Song" was undertaken by a Fujiwara nobleman named Sadaie (also known as Teika) in 1235, though probably suggested by his friend, the lay priest Rensho. In course of time the collection was issued in the form of a pack of cards and used both as a game and as a textbook for the education of girls. The poems are mostly tanka, and date all the way from the Seventh to the Thirteenth Century. The first poem is the one ascribed to Tenchi and the last is the work of the Emperor Juntoku, written from the island prison to which he was banished in 1221:

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[9] For translation of *Hyaku-nin-isshu* see Clay McCauley, *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, Vol. XXVII, Part 4 (1906).

O Imperial House!
  When I think of former days,
How I long for thee!
More than e'en the clinging vines
Gathered 'neath thine ancient eaves.[10]

In the class of *belles lettres* we have two very attractive and popular works. One is known as the *Hojoki* ('Notes of a Ten-Foot-Square Hermitage'), the work of Kamo-no-Chomei, guardian of a little mountain shrine about the beginning of the Thirteenth Century. *Chomei* has been called the Wordsworth of Japan and might with equal propriety be termed its Thoreau. The little book of some thirty pages brings before us a beautiful picture of the simple life in a little hut, ten feet square and seven feet high, furnished with a bamboo mat, a shelf on which stood an image of the Buddha so placed that the morning sun might strike its forehead, pictures of Fugen and Fudo on the walls, a black box for Buddhist books of devotion and some volumes of Japanese poetry. It chronicles also for us such events as the great Kyoto fire of 1177, the terrible famine of 1181, and the earthquake of 1185. We get a poignant insight into the miseries of the times when we come, for example, upon such a passage as the following:

> When there were a man and a woman who were strongly attached to each other, the one whose love was the greatest and whose devotion was the most profound, died first. The reason was that they put themselves last and, whether man or woman,

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[10] *Ibid.*, p. 129.

gave up to the dearly loved one anything which they might chance to have begged. As a matter of course, parents died before their children. Again, infants might be seen clinging to the breast of their mother, not knowing that she was already dead. A priest of the temple of Jisunin grieved in his secret heart at the numberless persons who were thus perishing, consulted with a great many holy men, who, by his advice, when they saw any one dead, wrote on his forehead the first of the Chinese characters for Amida and by this bond united him to the Church.[11]

But the most charming of all works of the kind in Japanese literature is undoubtedly the *Tzuredzure Gusa* ('Weeds of Idleness'), by the monk *Kenko,* or as he was entitled before entering religion, Yoshida-no-Kaneyoshi. It begins: "To while away the idle hours, seated the live-long day before the ink-slab, by jotting down without order or purpose whatever trifling thoughts pass through my mind, verily this is a queer and crazy thing to do." Nevertheless, Kenko does it, with fascinating effect upon the reader. No designation of the author as "the Horace of Japan," or as "the Japanese Qoheleth," can do Kenko justice. He is quite original and his kindly humor, his wistful pessimism, his humane philosophy, his affection for the faded hollyhocks of bygone festivities, and for the blossoms which have still to open, as well as for joys still present, make his companionship a truly delightful experience. We may indeed be thankful that, when he died, about 1350, beside the poor inventory of a few old sutras, "twelve bundles of scrap-paper, two suits of black vestments, his bedding and some pots and dishes," there was also found pasted on the walls of his hermitage and on the backs of prayers the few sheets of paper containing the *Tzuredzure Gusa.*[12]

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[11] W. G. Aston, *Japanese Literature,* pp. 145 ff.

[12] *See* translation by G. B. Sansom, *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan,* Vol. XXXIX.

Hojo art

During the Hojo period there was a considerable and growing divergence between the art of Kyoto and that of Kamakura. In the imperial capital the isolation of Japan from continental influences had resulted in the development of a definitely national (Yamato) style. This became specially associated with the Tosa family and took the name of that clan. The Tosa paintings, or makimono, or long horizontal scrolls, are, at their best, celebrated for their gorgeous coloring and their finely expressive figure drawing. In Kamakura, under the influence of Buddhism, Chinese influence is still perceptible, but the Kamakura art was of a more general range than that of Kyoto. It was at this time that a Chinese is said to have come and laid the foundation of the art of landscape gardening. The most permanent memorial, of course, of the Kamakura art is in the famous "Daibutsu," or bronze image of the "Buddha of Infinite Compassion," which it is still worth while to cross continents and oceans to see. This great work of art was planned by Yoritomo when he made of Kamakura his administrative capital. But the erection did not take place till 1252, a generation and more after the first Shogun's death. A wooden statue of the Buddha had been erected in 1238, but was blown down by a typhoon. Then the loving devotion of the Lady Itano came to the rescue with the present splendid result. Yet the shrine itself has been thrice devastated by fire and the head and hand of the great image date only from Tokugawa times. But the beauty and dignity of the whole figure are indescribable, and one shrinks from vulgar measurement in the delight of reposing in the charm of the colossal smile and of catching something of the peace of those closed eyelids. It has been a great joy to know that the "Daibutsu" passed almost unscathed through the earthquake and tidal wave of September, 1923.

It is difficult to generalize on such a subject with any confidence, but it is not unfair to assume that, on the whole, Japan made considerable advance in civilization during the days of the Hojo Regents. The court was no doubt often frivolous and corrupt, but, as Murdoch says, gave less occasion for scandal than it had done in the previous period. The Bakufu, too, was tyrannical, but it succeeded in preserving the independence of the nation against the dreaded hordes of Kublai Khan.

Japan under the Hojos

As for the people, we know all too little about them. It would not even appear that they were divided into the four classes until later. These were *Shi, No, Ko,* and *Sho,* that is, warriors, farmers, artisans, and merchants.[13] At the bottom of the scale were the *Eta,* or outcasts, who possessed no civil rights whatever. The warriors, of course, found increasing opportunity for the pursuit of their trade in the civil contentions of the time. So it was that *Bushido,*[14] ('the Way of the Knight'), received at this time its official stamp. The tea plant was introduced in 1191, but there was little official disposition to encourage the use of foreign luxuries. Even the manufacture of saké was at one time in the Thirteenth Century forbidden by law.

To sum up, it may be said that the Hojo Regency was of too short duration to effect the completion of much that had been begun. Had it lasted longer, as Dr. Hara suggests, the divergence between Kyoto and Kamakura might have brought quite a transformation to the empire. "The time, however, was not yet ripe for the total regeneration of Japan."

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[13] *See* James Murdoch, *History of Japan,* I, p. 164.

[14] *See* Inazo Nitobe, *Bushido.*

CHAPTER XV

THE ASHIKAGA SHOGUNS

The fall of Go Daigo

The ending of the Kamakura Bakufu engendered the hope, at least in Kyoto, of a restored Emperor who should exercise his ancient prerogatives with a loyal nobility and a united people as the buttresses of his inviolable throne. It was supposed that the domination of the *buke* ('knighthood') was over and that the *kuge* ('court nobility') had recovered their earlier influence. This pleasing illusion, however, which, if fulfilled, would have anticipated the Meiji restoration by five hundred years, was dissipated almost as soon as entertained. For this failure there were two reasons. The first was in the incomplete welding together of the various national elements. The resistance to the Mongol threat had done something towards this needed consolidation, but not nearly enough. With the removal of the pressure the movement towards solidarity ceased and seeds of discord began to sprout. The other reason was in the folly of Go Daigo which played into the hands of the self-seeking ambition of *Ashikaga Takauji.* To describe the Emperor's fault as "political indiscretion" is surely to underestimate its guilt. Without any conspicuous lack of ability, Go Daigo came back from exile with many marks of a deteriorated character. He was more disposed than before to rule despotically. In the redistribution of fiefs Nitta Yoshisada and Kusunoki Masashige were as inadequately rewarded as the services of the Ashikaga were grossly overpaid. Nor was the treason of the latter long in appearing. With the writer's pleasant recollection of having the living representative of the Ashikaga as his guide to the splendors of modern Kyoto, it is hard to reflect harshly upon the first famous bearer of the name. But, truth to tell, Ashikaga Takauji was false to both sides that he had supported. Through bribery and the use of women's wiles, he first contrived to set the Emperor against his son, Morinaga. In vain did the prince plead his freedom from any thought of treason. In a pathetic memorial to the throne, he wrote:

> I would appeal to heaven, but the sun and moon have no favor for an unfilial son. I would bow my head and cry to the earth for help, but the mountains and the rivers do not harbor a disloyal subject. The tie between father and son is severed and I am cast away. I have no longer anything to hope in the world. If I may be pardoned, stripped of my rank, and permitted to enter religion, there will be no cause for regret. In my deep sorrow I cannot say more.[1]

But even this humiliating plea was refused. The die was cast and the unhappy prince, in spite of the splendid service he had rendered to the imperial cause, was murdered in 1335.

Then Takauji proceeded to poison the Emperor's mind against Nitta Yoshisada. Too late Go Daigo awoke to the character and motives of the Ashikaga, and too late he fell back upon his loyal generals in the endeavor to bring about the chastisement of the upstart. The war that followed was fierce and bitter and at the same time marked by a number of heroic episodes. Yet the imperial cause was from the first at a disadvantage. Nitta, whom Murdoch depicts as a "dour, determined, hard-hitting fighter," but no strategist, tried in vain to bring the matter to an issue by personal combat with the Ashikaga. Kusunoki, against his better judgment, found himself compelled in obedience to the Emperor's wishes to make his stand at the Minato River, a position he himself regarded as a death trap. Defeated in a hot battle on July 4, 1336, he felt that the only expiation he could make was by taking his own life. So, after a touching farewell with his son, Masatsura—a farewell destined to become a classical subject in the art of Japan—the brave chieftain, together with some seventy survivors of his beaten force, sought the release of a forfeited life by seppuku. Later on, and not unfittingly, he was canonized as the deity of the river at which he had fought so courageously and yet in vain, Minato-gawa. "Of all the characters in Japanese history," says Griffis, "that of Kusunoki Masashige stands pre-eminent for the pureness of patriotism, unselfishness of devotion to duty, and calmness of courage. The people speak of him in tones of reverential tenderness and, with admiration that lacks fitting words, behold in him the mirror of stainless loyalty." The admiration is thoroughly deserved.

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[1] F. Brinkley, *History of the Japanese People,* p. 390.

Nitta survived his trusty comrade for only two years, fighting to the last. In 1338, he was surprised in a rice field by some thousands of the enemy and wounded by an arrow in the eye. Plucking out the dart, he is said to have performed the extraordinary operation of cutting off his own head in order to prevent identification by the foe. When, however, there was found upon his headless trunk the imperial letter with the words: "I invest you with full power to subjugate the rebels," it was known that the hero of a hundred fights had indubitably been slain. The severed head was carried away to Kyoto, which Takauji had occupied in July, 1336, for the conqueror to gloat over the evidence of his triumph. It is interesting to note that Yoshisada's last prayer was that one of his descendants might fulfill the task he was unable to carry out. Over two hundred years later a notable descendant of Yoshisada was born in the person of Tokugawa Iyeyasu, the founder of the Tokugawa Shogunate. So the doughty warrior did not ultimately lack an avenger.

Some time before the death of Nitta Yoshisada the Em-

The double dynasty

peror Go Daigo had been superseded by Kogon, the nominee of the Ashikaga. It was by such means that rebels purged themselves from the guilt of revolt against the throne. For a while Go Daigo took refuge in the hospitable monastery of Hiyeizan, but was soon compelled to flee. Then he gathered together the insignia of royalty and fled to Yoshino, in Yamato, where he was received by Masatsura, son of Kusunoki. Here a court was established which made open rivalry with the court at Kyoto. Thus the venerable maxim of the Japanese that "just as there is but one sun in heaven, so there is but one emperor on earth," was rudely contradicted. Go Daigo and his successors of the "Southern Line" exercised a kind of phantom sway for upwards of fifty years. Meanwhile, the puppet Emperor of the "Northern Line" had been persuaded to reward Ashikaga Takauji with the coveted title of Shogun.

The fifty years of war between the two branches of the imperial family present nothing in the way of clear-cut campaigning. The one court, as we have seen, was established at Yoshino, south of Kyoto, and in consequence gave its name to the dynasty of the south. The other maintained itself at Kyoto, with the military support of Ashikaga. The latter had now rebuilt Kamakura and used it as a rallying and recruiting point, but himself preferred for various reasons to reside in Kyoto. There was really no well defined boundary between the competing factions. Supporters of either side were to be found almost anywhere and, strangely enough, neither side felt itself open to the accusation of rebellion. Go Daigo, however, had succeeded in retaining the genuine insignia of imperial authority and had, moreover, palmed off an imitation of them on his rival. Consequently it is he and his successors who represent the side recognized by historians as legitimate, though they had to wait for this recognition from posterity. It should be remembered that even the terms "Northern Dynasty" and

"Southern Dynasty" (in Japanese, the *Namboku* courts) were not used till much later, when they were applied by historians in imitation of the Chinese. Yet the cause of Go Daigo was espoused by some very distinguished personages, of whom Chikafusa Kitabatake and his son, Akiiye, as well as the sons of Kusunoki, are types. There was, however, little returning hope of restoration. Go Daigo died in 1339 declaring in his will that although his body was buried in Yoshino, yet his spirit was ever yearning for Kyoto. The war continued to drag on in a purposeless kind of way. Griffis describes it as a "confused and sickening story of loyalty and treachery, battle, murder, pillage, fire, famine, poverty and misery, such as make up the picture of civil war in every country."

"The War of the Chrysanthemums," as it has sometimes been called, was ended at last by the suggestion of Ashikaga Yoshimitsu to the Southern Emperor Go Kameyama that he should come to Kyoto and there surrender the insignia of power to Go Komatsu. This act, which was not wholly unselfish, put an end to the prolonged schism and legalized the claims of the last of the Northern Line. The five predecessors of Go Komatsu, however, are regarded as "False Emperors," and are not included in the imperial line.

The Ashikaga period

The Ashikaga Shogunate lasted from 1335 to 1573 and includes the administration of fourteen Shoguns, of whom one received a second tenure of office. Of these, says Brinkley, "two were slain by their own vassals, five died in exile, and one had to commit suicide." From such a summary to the generalization that there was not so much as a decade of signal success or of efficient government is a comparatively easy transition. The luxury and vice of the court of the Shoguns in this period is as painfully conspicuous as the poverty and misery of the people. The military orders, taking advantage of the disturbed condition of things, increased daily in power and contributed little to the revenues of the Empire. The people, maddened by extortionate taxes, rioted, or else left the fields uncultivated and waste. Education was neglected and the only industrial art which flourished was that of the swordsmiths and armorers. Hard by the luxurious court of the Shoguns at Muromachi, the Emperors well-nigh starved in their palaces. One, it is said, Go Nara, made a living by writing and selling autographs. The people who employed him still reverenced him as a god, so they left their commissions and the money to pay for the same without daring to look the imperial scribe in the face. In 1500, the body of Tsuchimikado lay unburied, it is said, for forty days for lack of money wherewith to pay the funeral expenses. Professor Anesaki writes that "social disintegration and religious confusion proceeded apace, shaking off nearly all reminiscence of the past and the attachment to the old refinement of court life."

The Ashikaga Shogunate differed in several ways from that founded by Yoritomo. First, it was hereditary, passing in most instances from father to son. Secondly, the Ashikagas did not dare to leave the capital as Yoritomo had done, so established their court in a certain district of Kyoto called Muromachi, whence the name sometimes given to the period. Kamakura, however, was also occupied as the headquarters of a secondary court headed by an official, the *Kanryo,* who, in this instance, may be described as the governor-general. The system was not a success and in part may be said to account for the long-drawn-out civil strife.

So much for generalities; let us now dwell a little more particularly upon the specially outstanding details of the Ashikaga epoch.

The hereditary plan adopted by the Ashikagas was by no means successful in the production of any considerable succession of distinguished Shoguns. We may, with but little loss, confine our attention to a few out of the list of fourteen.

First, as to the founder of the line, Ashikaga Takauji: As we have seen, he was a scion of the Minamoto house. The name was derived from the little village of Ashikaga. Takauji has had some very valiant defenders—apologists who consider him to have acted humanely and generously, "one of Japan's greatest and noblest men." But in spite of some undoubtedly fine qualities, Takauji's actions show that he was a man of almost uniformly selfish aims and of unscrupulous ambitions. He was lacking, moreover, in those higher gifts of statesmanship which we associate with the name of Yoritomo. The people visited upon his memory their sense of miserable poverty and included his successors in the same general condemnation. When, in 1863, the figures of the Ashikaga Shoguns were removed from the To-ji-in, erected by Takauji, the inanimate blocks were all beheaded and treated with every species of insult. One substantial achievement may be set down to the credit of the first Ashikaga. This was the promulgation, at the very commencement of his tenure of office of the document known as the Ashikaga Law Code.

Ashikaga Takauji (1335-1358)

This famous compilation, known in Japanese as the *Kemmu Shikimoku,* from the name of the year period, was put forth in 1336. It consisted of seventeen articles, a number obviously suggested by the seventeen articles of Shotoku Taishi. Just as obviously the substance of the Ashikaga Code was indebted to the feudal code of the Hojos. No sooner had Takauji removed himself from the category of the rebels by setting up an Emperor of the Northern Line at Kyoto, at the same time improving his status by accepting appointment as Acting Chief Counselor of State, than he put forth his code, founded on the Hojo Code. It is not very obviously a code of law, but rather a series of moral precepts which are chiefly interesting as revealing the social ethics of the time in military circles. The contents will be sufficiently suggested by a bare enumeration of the following heads:

The Ashikaga Code

(1) Economy must be practised. (2) Drinking parties and wanton frolics must be suppressed. (3) Violence and outrage must be qūelled. (4) The inquisition and search of private dwellings must be abandoned. (5) There must be regulation of the districts devastated by fire. (6) Coöperative building clubs are suggested. (7) Government officers of ability are to be sent over the provinces. (8) Nobles and priests are no longer to make interested recommendations to the Emperor. (9) Public officers are liable to reprimand for negligence and idleness. (10) Bribery must be put down. (11) Presents made to officers attached to the palace must be returned. (12) Personal attendants on the Emperor and Shogun must be carefully selected. (13) Ceremonial etiquette must be properly regulated. (14) Men of probity and high principle must be rewarded. (15) Petitions from the poor must be heard and redress granted. (16) Petitions and claims from the temples must be dealt with on their merits. (17) Certain fixed days are appointed for the rendering of decisions and for the issuance of government orders.[2]

All this seems as harmless as it is vague, but there were, nevertheless, those who deemed it worthy of opposition. Murdoch describes, for example, the famous work of *Kitabatake Chikafusa, Jinno Shotoki,*[3] ('The History of the True Succession of the Divine Monarchs') as a counterblast to the Ashikaga Code. It is so in the sense that it sets forth the characteristically Japanese doctrine of the divine descent and authority of the Emperors, as something quite independent of the claims or support of the Shoguns. "Great Yamato," writes Kitabatake, "is a divine country. It is only our land whose foundations were first laid by a divine ancestor. It alone has been transmitted by the Sun-Goddess to a long line of her descendants. There is nothing of this kind in foreign countries. Therefore it is called the Divine Land. . . . It is only our country which from the time when the heavens and earth were first unfolded has preserved the succession to the throne intact in one single family."

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[2] *See* J. C. Hall, "Japanese Feudal Laws: II. The Ashikaga Code," *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan,* 1908.

[3] The *Jinno Shotoki* was not, however, printed till 1649.

It is unnecessary to do more than point out the significance of such a passage, and of the spirit behind it, in their relation to the national movements of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth centuries, and indeed down to our own day.

Yoshimitsu (1368-1393)

Takauji died in 1358 and left the succession to his eldest son, Yoshiakira. There is not much to be said of the second Ashikaga. The war of the two courts went on, and on one occasion, in 1361, owing to the defection of one of the most powerful nobles, Hosokawa, the Shogun was compelled to flee from Kyoto, with his puppet Emperor. But he soon returned and died in 1367, after a brief rule which was, nevertheless, full of weariness.

The third Ashikaga Shogun, Yoshimitsu, now came to his own. He was only nine years old at his accession, and it is interesting to note in this connection that eleven out of the fourteen Ashikaga Shoguns were minors at the time of their entrance upon office. Murdoch speaks of Yoshimitsu as "a baffling character," yet he is often spoken of as "the great Ashikaga," and in some respects he deserves the title. Not a little of his celebrity in any case is due to the wise tutor who had him in charge at the early age when he succeeded to the Shogunate. This was *Hosokawa Yoriyuki,* one of the very ablest men of the time. The minister reverenced, it is told, five mottoes, and tried, moreover, to conform his life to them. These were: (1) Do not be partial in friendship or in enmity. (2) Do not return favor or vengeance. (3) Do not deceive, with right motive or with wrong. (4) Do not expect bribes. (5) Do not deceive thyself. Under training such as that of Yoriyuki, Yoshimitsu might well have turned out even better than he did. But as the Shogun grew older he became more and more devoted to pleasure and extravagant living. Murdoch says that "after the death of Yoriyuki in 1392 Yoshimitsu's policy in many respects was a forerunner of that of Louis XIV of France," but this must be taken as applying to artistic rather than to immoral dissipations, to extravagance rather than to personal vice. Extravagant beyond all precedent Yoshimitsu certainly was. In this direction a climax was reached in the erection of the palace at Kyoto, with the famous *Kinkakuji* ('Golden Pavilion Shrine'), which is still one of the sights of the ancient capital. Yoshimitsu was delighted when the Emperor paid him a visit in this splendid abode. After his retirement from the Shogunate he spent most of his time here until death transferred him to a narrower habitation in 1409. The palace was subsequently bequeathed to the Zen sect of Buddhists who have ever since used it as a monastery.

One thing the Japanese have resented in Yoshimitsu more than his extravagance, though the two things are not unrelated. This was the apparent acknowledgement of the claims of China as suzerain when he sent presents to the Son of Heaven in 1401 and received in return the title of "King of Japan," Nippon O. China was fond, in this indirect way, rather than by war, of trying to fasten her yoke upon the surrounding peoples. But she never tried it with Japan without arousing unspeakable wrath in the hearts of the people. Yoshimitsu could hardly have been ignorant of the significance of his act, since in his reply to the letter of the Ming Emperor he acknowledged himself frankly as the vassal of the Middle Kingdom. Hence, in the eyes of the Japanese, Yoshimitsu earned and deserved "the curse of posterity."

A matter which attracted less attention but which is important in helping us to link up the relations of Japan with Korea is the reception by Yoshimitsu, in 1392, of the representatives of the peninsula kingdom, which had but lately come under the dynasty which was finally pensioned off in 1910.

From Yoshimitsu to Yoshimasa

Yoshimitsu's successors in no way raised the average of the Ashikaga rulers. His son, *Yoshimochi*, spent the years from 1394 to 1422 in a series of drunken debauches. He eventually retired to the priesthood, not to mourn over a dissipated past, but to drink himself the more speedily to death. Some historians talk of a return visit of the Mongols in 1420, but the tradition rests only on the recollection of a raid made by the Koreans, who had been rendered desperate by the prolonged experience of Japanese piracy. Yoshimochi's son, *Yoshikazu*, held the Shogunate for two years and died in 1425 at the age of nineteen. Then the ex-Shogun came back and occupied his former post until his death in 1428. Yoshimochi's death was followed by the accession of *Yoshinori*, his predecessor's brother, in 1428, but in 1441 he was murdered by his host, Akamatsu Mitsusuke. His son, *Yoshikatsu*, a child of eight, followed, but died in 1443, to give place to his brother *Yoshimasa*, likewise of the mature age age of eight. Yoshimasa reigned for thirty years, retiring in 1473 and dying seventeen years later. Had he, like his predecessor, died a minor, the land would have been spared at least some few disasters.

Yoshimasa rivaled Yoshimitsu in the extravagance and selfish refinement of his pleasures. While people were dying in Kyoto by tens of thousands he went about undisturbed in his cruelly luxurious way. The building of the *Gin-kaku-ji* ('Silver Pavilion Shrine') is, therefore, rather a reproach to his humanity than a credit to his æstheticism. This shrine, like that of Yoshimitsu, was eventually turned over to the Buddhists, who occupy it until this day. Meanwhile, with the splendid building rising to the sky, riots were breaking out and spreading far and wide, and war and pestilence devastated the land. Yoshimasa lowered himself even below the level of Yoshimitsu by appealing to China for loans, the fruit of which he spent upon his own pleasures rather than upon the crying needs of the people.

Yet Yoshimasa to-day has a questionable kind of glory in connection with the development of the *cha-no-yu* ('tea ceremony').[4] When he retired from the cares of office in 1473, it was, says Chamberlain, "to devote himself altogether to refined pleasures in his gorgeous palace of Gin-kaku-ji at Kyoto, in the company of his favorites, the pleasure-loving abbots Shinko and Shinno. From this trio of royal and religious voluptuaries are derived several of the rules for tea-drinking which still hold good."

The last of the Ashikagas

But little requires to be said of the remaining Ashikagas. *Yoshihisa* succeeded in 1473 at the age of nine, a promising boy in the avoidance of enervating luxuries and a promising soldier in the campaign he undertook for the pacification of the land, for the situation had been developing elements of a most menacing character. Riots and civil tumults were of daily occurrence, and were not to be appeased even by the frequent edicts remitting taxes. It was plain that revolution was brewing and would inevitably burst forth unless the government of the Ashikagas were either ended or radically reformed. Yoshihisa died at the age of twenty-five, in 1489, and so dissipated any hopes which his character had inspired. He was followed by a cousin, *Yoshitane,* who resumed the interrupted campaign only to be compelled to flee before the *Kanryo* ('Governor-general') of Kamakura. This official, Hosokawa Masamoto, set up a son of Yoshimasa's brother, *Yoshizumi,* as the new Shogun. But he too was forced to flee and Yoshitane came back under the name of Yoshitada. He ruled troublously till his death in 1521. *Yoshiharu,* aged eleven, was the new incumbent and made some pretense of governing till 1545. The country was now suffering the extremes of anarchy. Neither Emperor nor Shogun, nor even Kanryo, had any real power to control the course of events. *Yoshiteru* followed his father as Shogun in 1547, but in 1565 slew himself amid the blazing ruins of the palace to which the rebels had consigned him. By this time we find ourselves face to face with the strong soldier personality who was destined to win for a distracted land some semblance of unity and to restore a reign of law. This was *Oda Nobunaga,* a man whose exploits will demand more detailed attention a little later. Nobunaga was called by his enemies *Baka-dono* ('Lord Fool'). He soon proved himself the *deus ex machina* for whom Japan had been vainly sighing. In 1568, at the command of the Emperor, he set up *Yoshiaki,* the last of the Ashikaga Shoguns, in the seat of his father. But in 1573 he made an end of the unfortunate and execrated dynasty by a summary deposition. So ended what, from the merely domestic point of view, was without doubt a barren and disappointing period. Yet, from a wider point of view, a new interest arises which we must now proceed to discuss.

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[4] For a full account of the ritual of the cha-no-yu *see* F. Brinkley, *Japan,* II, 260 ff.; also Okakura Kakuso, *The Book of Tea.*

CHAPTER XVI

THE COMING OF THE FOREIGNER

The Portuguese

While Japan was "a weltering chaos of warring feudal atoms," the way was clearing for the first intercourse with that Europe which hitherto had known of the the Far Eastern Empire only through the vague and secondhand reports of Marco Polo and the map made therefrom by Paolo Toscanelli in 1474. The error made, on the Venetian's authority, by which Japan was placed some fifteen hundred miles east of China, had much to do with the belief of Columbus that he had discovered India and that Cuba was the Island Empire of "Cipangu." Early in the Fifteenth Century that noble pioneer of science, Prince Henry of Portugal, known as "the Navigator," had laid the foundations of Portuguese supremacy upon the seas. When he died, seeing only afar off the fruit of his life's labors, in 1460, he bequeathed to his captains the charts and instruments which his zeal had accumulated and all the resources of the Order of Christ which had furthered his designs. By the famous Papal Bull of Alexander VI, in 1493, the destinies of Portugal on the seas were directed to the East as were those of Spain to the West. So, step by step, splendid conquests were won which more than compensated for the obstacles placed by the Ottoman against access to the Orient. Diaz had doubled the Cape of Storms, henceforth to be known as the Cape of Good Hope, five years before the issuance of the Bull. Vasco da Gama reached the Malabar coast of India in 1498 and so created the material out of which Camoëns fashioned the Portuguese epic of *The Lusiads*. In 1510, Albuquerque, Viceroy of the Indies, by the seizure of Goa, established a center for Portuguese sovereignty in the Far East. Contact with Malacca soon followed and China was reached in 1516.

It was some years later, indeed not till 1542, that the Portuguese arrived in Japan. In that year a *junco,* with three Portuguese sailors on board, Antonio de Mota, Francisco Zeimoto, and Antonio Peixoto, on its way from Macao to Siam, was blown out of its course and reached *Tanegashima.* The date is a notable one, for it is also the birth year of the future Tokugawa Shogun, Iyeyasu. The fugitives seem to have stayed long enough to teach the natives the use of firearms. As usual in such cases, the lesson was appreciated and successful imitation soon followed. Sakai, on the island of Kyushu, seems very soon after 1542 to have been making commercial use of the discovery.

Not long after this first visit, came Fernando Mendez Pinto, with his two companions, Christopher Borcalho and Diego Zeimoto, in the service of a pirate who had taken them aboard his ship when they had lost their own. Pinto is the man to whom credit for the discovery of Japan is usually given. But his confessed habit of saying things "to fit the humor rather than the truth" has discounted not a few of his claims. Men said that his name should have been "Mendax" rather than Mendez, and the playwright Congreve plainly had the same opinion when he wrote in "Love for Love"; "Ferdinand Mendez Pinto was but a type of thee—thou liar of the first magnitude." As to whether Pinto healed a certain prince of gout and cured the son of that same notability of a gunshot wound, we may legitimately, and without much loss, remain unconvinced. Pinto is said to have returned in 1547, and when he left this time he carried away with him two Japanese fugitives. One of these was *Anjiro,* or Yajiro, who was destined to influence the career of St. Francis Xavier. Before the arrival of Xavier, however, the ships of the Portuguese seem to have become fairly numerous in Japan and there was considerable rivalry among the feudal chiefs for the privilege of trading with the foreigner. Kaempfer[1] says: "The Merchants, in exchange for their European and Indian commodities, as raw silk, fine stuffs, drugs, wines, medicines, and a great variety of other both natural and artificial curiosities, became posses'd of numerous treasures and the golden marrow of the country."

St. Francis Xavier

Francisco de Xavier was born in 1506 in his mother's castle of Xavier at the foot of the Pyrenees. He was of a noble Navarrese family but, as was frequently the case, he had taken his mother's name. At the University of Paris he came under the compelling influence of Ignatius de Loyola, founder of the Jesuit order. When the order was formed, Xavier was one of the original members and took the vows in 1534. In 1541, he sailed from Lisbon for the Portuguese Indies and spent many months of self-denying and fruitful labor at Goa and Travancore. Thence he proceeded to Malacca where he found the natives "barbarous and vicious." But a providential meeting with Anjiro (Yajiro) directed his thoughts to Japan where the Portuguese traders had already prepared the way and whence the missionary is said to have received an invitation addressed by a "king," probably the Prince of Bungo. Yajiro was baptized, receiving the name of Paul, and sailed with Xavier and Father Fernandez in the double interest of the missionary and the traders. They landed at Kagoshima on August 15, 1549, and for twenty-seven months Xavier labored indefatigably in a field which appeared ripe for the harvesting. At Hirado they were received by salvos of artillery from the Portuguese ships. At Yamaguchi, on the Inland Sea, Xavier built the first Christian church on ground given to him by Prince Surosoki, whom he describes as "the most powerful of the Lords then in Japan." He called the church

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[1] Engelbert Kaempfer, *History of Japan*, II, 154.

Daidoji ('the Temple of the Great Way') and left his impressions of the people in the words: "In all my life I never tasted so much consolation as at Yamaguchi." Kyoto was visited, but with little or no success. This failure was, however, compensated for by the phenomenal progress made in the island of Kyushu.

Probably at this time less than a thousand converts were baptized, but a good foundation was prepared for subsequent efforts on a more extensive scale. How far the chiefs encouraged the preaching of Christianity merely to secure for themselves some commercial advantage, how far Xavier's work was marred by bigotry and intolerance on the one hand and by vain ecclesiastical pomp and show on the other; and how far his message, imperfectly interpreted by Yajiro, was understood by the converts—these are questions open to debate. The facts which are incontestable are that the personality of the great missionary made an indelible impression upon Japan and that, of the converts made, a large number were sufficiently in earnest to pass heroically through the fiery baptism of persecution which was to follow. Kaempfer speaks also of a certain "natural resemblance between the minds and inclinations of the Japanese and Portuguese, both born nearly under the same clime, and in particular, the great affability, and that serious and pleasing gravity common to both nations," [2] as having much to do with mutual understanding. The Japanese certainly made a good impression on Xavier, if we may judge of the testimony he has left of them. "As far as I can judge," he writes, "the Japanese surpass in virtue and probity all people hitherto discovered. Their character is gentle. They are no tricksters, and they reckon honor to be superior to everything else. There is a great deal of poverty in the islands. The Japanese dislike poverty but are not ashamed of it."

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[2] *Ibid.*, p. 155.

"The Apostle of the Indies" left Japan on November 30, 1551, on his return to Goa, feeling that he was needed in India. He had determined on the way to pay a visit to China, whose conversion, he believed, would inevitably bring about that of Japan. His plans in this respect were frustrated, for he died of fever in the little island of *Changchuen* (Saint John), off the coast of Kwangtung, on December 2 (according to some, November 27), 1552. However much we may be disposed to criticize some of his methods, which were those of the time, Xavier must always be regarded as one of the greatest missionaries of Christian history.

Extension of Christianity

Xavier's work in Japan was carried on by Fathers Torres and Fernandez, assisted by native converts. Of these, Father Lawrence, the first Japanese Jesuit, should not be forgotten. The influence of the missionaries and that of the traders grew simultaneously and harmoniously. The sailors seem to have done all they could to aid the work of the friars and, at this stage at least, to have given but little occasion to the blasphemer. It must be confessed that at times the Christian propaganda included campaigns of violence against the temples and bonzes which are indefensible, but it was, nevertheless, recommended by the genuine devotion and self-sacrificing labor of the priests. The Annual Letters of the Jesuits to Rome give many interesting particulars of the progress of the faith. The building of a church at Nagasaki was in a way epoch-making, since the little fishing village rapidly grew to become a city of 30,000 inhabitants, who were for the most part Christians. Tens of thousands of people in the island of Kyushu were baptized, sometimes, it must be feared, as in the story of the conversion of Europe, not without some rather pointed suggestion on the part of the chiefs. Within 30 years of the departure of Xavier there were 75 Jesuits at work in the Empire and the number of converts was estimated as not short of

150,000. But, meanwhile, great political changes had come to pass in Japan itself which must be described before we can pursue the story of the Christian mission. Moreover, even before taking account of these developments in politics, we must, in saying farewell to the Ashikaga period, pay some brief tribute to its literature and its arts.

Ashikaga literature

With civil war raging almost continually and with military affairs in consequence claiming the almost undivided attention of the educated classes, it may easily be supposed that the Ashikaga period was not one of extraordinary literary brilliance. Yet, while it is in general true that the lectures at the Universities ceased and many of the great libraries disappeared in the conflagrations of the time, there were, nevertheless, not wanting a few who found leisure for the pursuits of scholarship. These even included two or three of the Ashikaga Shoguns, among them Yoshihisa who, in addition to being a poet, was a deep student of the Chinese classics. The work of the statesman scholar, *Kitabatake Chikafusa,* author of the *History of the True Succession of the Divine Monarchs,* has already been mentioned.

The most characteristic feature of Ashikaga literature is to be seen in the classical dramas known as *No.*[3] These were at first merely religious dances performed in front of the Shinto temples. Later they were developed into quite elaborate lyrical plays, patronized chiefly by the Shoguns, just as the writing of tanka was encouraged by the imperial court. These dramas were rendered by a company limited to three or four performers assisted by a chorus, after the Greek manner. Even upon the foreigner to-day the effect of a No, with its stilted language, uttered in strange falsetto tones, its primitive orchestra, its slow deliberate movements, the contrast between the unadorned twenty-five-foot square stage and the gorgeous costuming, is very impressive. A convenient rule for the appreciation of the No has been stated as follows:

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[3] Translations of various No dramas have been given by Aston in his *Japanese Literature,* by Chamberlain in *Japanese Poetry,* and by Arthur Waley.

> Forget the theater and look at the *No;*
> Forget the *No* and look at the actor;
> Forget the actor and look at the idea;
> Forget the idea and you will understand the *No.*

The subjects treated have been from the first mythical or historical, or sometimes, under the influence of Buddhism, mystical. The performance is followed by an assemblage solemnized to the point of apparent participation in some high sacramental rite. There are now five schools of No, all of them dating from the Ashikaga period or earlier. The oldest, the *Komparu,* is even ascribed to the invention of Kawakatsu Hada, in the time of Shotoku Taishi. The *Kanze* split off from the Komparu and the *Hosho* from the Kanze. The *Kongo* and *Kita* schools were founded before three and four centuries ago. One of the largest collections of No extant is that known as the *Yokyoku Tsukai,* of the Fourteenth Century, but the writer is informed that the most complete of all is that of Dr. Yaichi Haga, of the University of Tokyo.

Pictorial art

Art in Ashikaga times was still largely the result of Chinese influence. Together with the philosophy of the Sung period came the Sung art and by the same channel, namely, that of Buddhism. The Zen sect, to which so many of the bushi of Japan belonged, was strikingly æsthetic. The first place in time, so far as the artists of this epoch are concerned, is given to a Chinese priest known as *Kawo.* He was followed by another priest named *Mincho,* also known as *Cho Densu,* who has been termed the Fra Angelico of Japan. In the second half of the Fourteenth Century a priest named *Jo-setsu* founded a school which produced a long line of famous painters. Among these was *Sesshu,* who returned from an apprenticeship in China to become one of the greatest landscape artists in all Japanese history. There were also *Masanobu* and his son, *Motonobu*, to each of whom has been given the credit for founding the famous *Kano* school. It was, at any rate, under Motonobu who, as Brinkley says, "excelled in every style and every branch of his art," that the Kano school acquired its most definite character and its chief celebrity. It is of this artist that the story is told that on one occasion, seeking to reproduce a certain view, he threw his brush away in despair, whence the spot has since been known as *Fude sute* ('To Throw Away the Brush').

The Fifteenth Century has been sometimes considered "the purest, the most classical period of Japanese art,"[4] characterized by the most perfect subordination of color to design. The latter part of the era is also notable for the first great wood-cut artists, but these will be referred to more conveniently a little later.

Industrial arts

Midway between the pictorial arts and the applied arts, which flourished especially under the patronage of the luxurious Shoguns of the epoch, may be mentioned the improvements in porcelain-making. It was in 1510 that *Gorodayu Shonzai*, fired to emulation by the achievements of the Chinese potters at Ching-te-chen, went to China. He returned five years later to make the famous *Hizen* ware. Even though the country generally was starving, the applied arts flourished under the Ashikagas. Buddhism encouraged the casting of bronze bells and mirrors. The development of the No drama gave occupation to the extraordinarily skilled carvers of masks. The *cha-no-yu* ('tea ceremony') gave an increased interest in ceramics, and the manufacture of porcelain and glazed pottery (*faïence*) became important, even though the great age of Japanese porcelain did not come until the opening of the Seventeenth Century. Lacquer work had been introduced from China, but as the lacquer tree found in Japan a more congenial habitat, so the art itself developed under the skillful and patient hands of the Japanese artists. The culminating period of this art is the end of the Fifteenth Century. To bow-makers, arrow-makers, saddlers, shield-stitchers, and, above all, to sword-smiths, the continuous wars of the time gave abundant employment. Some of the most wonderful swords ever made are the work of Japanese and the prince of all sword-smiths was Okazaki Masamune. The making of sword furniture was also an art in itself and engaged many artists of the most consummate skill. Of the architecture of the period we may form some conception by contemplating the Golden Pavilion of Yoshimitsu and the Silver Pavilion of Yoshimasa. A distinguished American architect, Mr. Ralph Adams Cram, has said that Japanese architecture represents "one of the great styles of the world."

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[4] Sadakichi Hartmann, *Japanese Art*, p. 71.

Social life

The social life of the Ashikaga age presented, as we have already seen, luxury and misery in their extremest forms side by side. While the populace was starving and perishing through the ruthlessness of a cruel civil war, both *kuge* ('courtiers') and *bushi* ('knights') were making Kyoto a synonym for gayety and the theater of every variety of refined amusement. Dress was fantastic and extravagant. The coiffure for both sexes took the strangest forms and men prided themselves as much upon their beards and mustaches as the ladies did upon the long tresses which an attendant sometimes supported behind in a box. Eating and drinking were regulated by many curious conventions. The use of the *mon* ('family badge') was quite ancient and was general among the great clans, long before the *Kiku Gomon* ('Imperial Chrysanthemum Crest') was adopted by the Emperors in the Twelfth Century.[5] The tea ceremony, or cha-no-yu (literally, 'hot water for tea') became the complex ritual of an esoteric system supposed to inculcate "urbanity, courtesy, purity, and imperturbability." For this ceremony special gardens, rooms, and vessels had to be prepared, and many desired to qualify as experts in the cult. It should be noted, too, that the "teaists" included not only extravagant Shoguns like Yoshimasa but hardened warriors such as Nobunaga, Hideyoshi, and Iyeyasu. Nitobe declares that "a-teaism" was as much a reproach in certain sections of Japanese society as "a-theism" would be in England or America. Then there were the other fashionable arts, such as incense-comparing, or *ko-awase,* the arrangement of flowers, or *ikebana,* the viewing of the blossoms, and the like. Competing with these, the writing of tanka, attendance at the No drama and at *Kyogen* ('farces') filled up the days and nights with refined delight. Versailles, in the days of the Grand Monarque, did not know a greater profusion of ways for adding zest to pleasure and preventing the minutes from passing unamused. Underneath this splendid surface, the patient people labored, groaned, suffered, and died.

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[5] R. H. McClatchie, "Japanese Heraldry," *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, 1876.

Feudalism

Under the Ashikagas feudalism attained the zenith of its influence. The weakening of the central authority and the placing of the Empire under the sway of an unscrupulous militarism immensely strengthened the prestige of the clan leaders. Might was everywhere regarded as constituting right, and the sword of the samurai was the final arbiter in the struggle for justice. Thus, while every day the kuge became weaker, the bushi gained in power and consideration. Every warrior head of a family became a *daimyo* ('great name') and around the daimyo gathered the *samurai* ('sworded men'). When a soldier lost his master or renounced allegiance, he became a *ronin* ('wave man'), a knight-errant who fought for his own hand. To regulate the conduct of the bushi there was elaborated a code of chivalry and morality which is known as *bushido* ('the Way of the Knight'). During this epoch it may be truly said that this was the real religion of the Japanese soldier rather than Shinto ('the Way of the Gods'), or *Buppo* ('the Way of Buddha'). Bushido presents a curious development of ascetic virtue and of self-restraint, and although it has been accused of an unethical disregard for the rights of those outside the military caste, the charge seems undeserved. Mistreatments of the lower classes were the exceptions, rather than the rule, to the spirit and practice of bushido. There can be no question as to its immense influence upon the life of Japan.

The code of bushido called for the practice of seppuku (vulgarly known as *hara-kiri*), a ceremonial form of self-immolation by disembowelment. This was not suicide due to despair, but rather a means of self-execution when life was considered as forfeit for some intentional or unintentional misdemeanor. Sometimes it was a sacrifice vicariously made to expiate the sin of a clan or even of the whole country. *Seppuku* must be carefully distinguished from *junshi,* or the "following in death" to serve one's lord in the underworld, and from *shinju,* or "double suicide," a practice frequently resorted to by young couples whose love affairs in this world have gone wrong. The writer has been told on good authority that this last-named practice, though now common and even fashionable, is not yet three hundred years old.

To be prepared for seppuku the samurai always carried, in addition to his heavy battle sword, a small dirk, whence he was known as the "two-sworded man." Constant readiness for this supreme test of courage and of loyalty to an ideal has had, without doubt, much to do with the production of that calm self-devotion which enabled the Japanese in great crises to face death without tremor and to leave life without reluctance.[6]

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[6] For a full account of feudalism in Japan *see* W. Gubbins, *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan,* Vol. XV, Part 2.

CHAPTER XVII

THE ERA OF MILITARY DICTATORSHIP

Oda Nobunaga

We have now arrived at a period when it might seem that the disintegration of Japan had reached such a point as to render the whole situation hopeless. The mention of so many local kings by the first Christian missionaries points to the absence of any generally recognized central authority. So far as Emperors and Shoguns are concerned, there was certainly little promise of relief in sight. Yet at this desperate juncture three men were raised up by Providence who seemed fashioned for just this particular emergency and who eventually succeeded in restoring to the nation its lost unity. These men, among the most remarkable in the history of any people, and born within eight years of one another, were, in order of their accession to power, *Oda Nobunaga, Toyotomi Hideyoshi,* and *Tokugawa Iyeyasu.* Their stories will overlap to a certain extent, but their careers as a whole form a bridge to carry us safely over from the dreadful period of Ashikaga anarchy to the comparative peace and prosperity of the Tokugawa era.

Nobunaga was descended from the Taira family. At the time of the Taira debacle, in the Twelfth Century, a grandson of Kiyomori escaped and founded a line of priests who for some eight generations established themselves in the peaceful seclusion of the province of Owari. This ancestral fief formed a wide isthmus across the main island, joining on the east the estates of the family from whence sprang Tokugawa Iyeyasu. At length one of the Owari lords, Oda Nobuhide, returned to the way of the warrior and in 1543, a year after the birth of Queen Elizabeth, begat a son, Oda Nobunaga, who was destined to become one of the great soldiers of all time. Yet his early days were so wild and unpromising that he earned for himself the title of *Baka-dono* ('Lord Fool'). It was only when the young daimyo's guardian protested and sealed his protest with a dutiful suicide, that Nobunaga changed his course. In 1549, on the death of his father, he received his comparatively small inheritance of the Owari properties. To this patrimony, ere he died, he had added six entire provinces. Rough and careless in manner, known everywhere by his long and trailing sword, Nobunaga was throughout his career the soldier rather than the statesman. To the three illustrious soldiers above mentioned three famous poetical epigrams (*haikai*)[1] have been traditionally assigned, though they are all probably to be attributed to the epigrammist Shoha. Nobunaga's verse runs as follows:

Nakanu nara
Koroshite shimae
Hototogisu.
(If the cuckoo will not sing,
Surely I its neck will wring.)

The verse well suggests the general violence and impatience of Nobunaga's character. The Jesuits, whom he favored, describe him as follows:

> Nobunaga was a prince of large stature, but of a weak and delicate complexion, which made him appear less fit to support the toil and fatigues of war. Nevertheless he had a heart and soul that infinitely supplied all other wants, and was naturally ambitious above all mankind. He was both brave, generous and bold, and not without many excellent moral virtues, being of his own humor inclined to Justice and a sworn enemy to all Treason. He was endued with a quick and penetrating wit, and seemed cut

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[1] The *haikai,* or *hokku,* is the seventeen-syllabled poem which soon after this time became the rival of the tanka.

> out for business. Above all he properly excelled in military discipline, and was generally esteemed the fittest to command an army, or to manage a siege, or to fortify a town, or to mark out a camp of any general in Japan. He never used any other head in his counsels but his own. For if he asked advice, it was more to know their hearts, than to profit by their thoughts. He practiced inviolably the Counsel of those hypocrites who teach that one ought to see into others, but never to lay himself open; for the most refined Politicians could never dive into his counsels, for very private and secret was he in his designs. As for the worship of the gods, he laughed and ridiculed it, being thoroughly convinced that the Bonzes were nothing but impostors, and for the most part wicked men that abused the people's innocent simplicity, and screened their own debauches under the specious veil of religion.[2]

In some respects the description needs correction, yet, as to essentials, the Jesuits were in a good position to judge. The battle in which his general, Shibata, avenged the murder of the Shogun Yoshiteru was fought near the Jesuit establishment of Sakai.[3] It was a Christmas Day and a remarkable feature of the battle was that on Christmas Eve the many Christian officers and soldiers on both sides forgot their hostility, came out from their respective camps, and joined in the Mass and festivities of the sacred season.

In 1568, Nobunaga had made himself so powerful a personage that when the Emperor invited him to settle the vexed question of the Shogunate, he immediately took steps to install Yoshiaki, and incidentally, with his armed train, filled the capital, Kyoto, with consternation. By this time he had for his commander in chief a still abler soldier than himself, namely *Hideyoshi.*

To make our story continuous, we may as well use the present opportunity to get acquainted with the most remarkable man Japan ever produced.

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[2] J. Longford, *The Story of Old Japan,* p. 168.

[3] Near Osaka.

Hideyoshi

In the employ of Oda Nobuhide, Nobunaga's father, there was a quondam priest who, on becoming through an arrow wound disqualified for military service, retired to Nakamura. There are perhaps hundreds of places of this name in Japan, since Nakamura merely means "Middle Village," but this Nakamura was in the province of Owari, near Nagoya. Here the ex-bonze took to farming and married a wife named Naka. Of this pair was born the boy who was first of all called *Yiyoshi Maru,* because it was to the god of that name that the mother had prayed for a son. Since the Protean nomenclature of Hideyoshi has frequently been to students a source of confusion, it may be as well to state here that the child name was on his attaining manhood exchanged for *Tokichiro Takayoshi;* that in 1562 the name of Hideyoshi was assumed; that in 1575 the general (as Hideyoshi then was) took the name of *Hashiba,*[4] formed by the combination of syllables from the names of his generals Ni*wa* (*ha*) and *Shiba*-ta; and that later still he assumed the name of Hideyoshi Toyotomi. In the days of his supreme power, Hideyoshi was best known by the title of *Taiko Sama.* We may add that in childhood (and long after) he was frequently called *Sarumen Kanja* ('Monkey Face') on account of his extreme ugliness.

From the first, Hideyoshi appears as straitened and handicapped by circumstance. Brinkley writes: "Everything was against him—personal appearance, obscurity of lineage, and absence of scholarship." His own conduct, moreover, was far from promising. Being found unmanageable by his parents, he was turned over to the priests of a Buddhist temple for training. They gave up the too difficult task after he had smashed the idol which returned no answer to his invitation to take its food. Altogether, it is said that the young hopeful was dismissed thirty-eight times in succession from positions which had been obtained for him. Yet there must have been some quality even in his obstreperous boyhood which commanded respect, if we are to believe the story of his compelling an apology from the bandit Koroku who had robbed him. Koroku's apology, forced from him by the outraged and insistent youngster, won him a daimyoship in the days of Hideyoshi's power some years later. The youthful Hideyoshi finally, through a characteristic piece of impudence, gained access to Nobunaga whom he shrewdly concluded was the one man to command and merit his allegiance.[5]

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[4] The Jesuits spelled the name Faxiba.

Thus, from the lowliest of menial tasks, Hideyoshi fought his way upward into the confidence and admiration of his quick-tempered master. With great good humor, with abundant and tactful consideration for the susceptibilities of his associates and rivals, and with the utmost zeal for the cause of Nobunaga, he became the general's right-hand man, his chief adviser in council, and his most reliable lieutenant on the field of battle. The soldiers nicknamed him "Cotton," because of the multitude of uses to which his talents could be put. In October, 1558, Hideyoshi attached himself to Nobunaga and in ten years he had made him master of all Owari and Mino, and the ally of the future Shogun, Tokugawa Iyeyasu.

We may now return to consider the course of the campaign which the three illustrious soldiers brought to so triumphant an issue.

Nobunaga's wars

In consolidating his power in the home provinces, apart from the leaders already mentioned, Nobunaga had the assistance of several notable captains. Conspicuous among these was *Shibata Genroku,* of whom we shall hear more later. He is sometimes known as Shibata the Jar-breaker, because during a certain famous siege, he made his men drink what water they needed and then break the water jars, to sally forth either to victory or to death. It was Shibata's way of crossing the Rubicon. But no assistance rendered to Nobunaga, not even that rendered by Hideyoshi, may blind us to the real ability of the lord of Owari himself. He seemed the man born to break down those elements of the old order which were in the way of the unification and reconstruction of the Empire. The battle of 1560, in which Nobunaga triumphed over the vastly superior force of Imagawa Yoshimoto, when the latter invaded Owari, has been by some regarded as "one of the great combats of the world." Nobunaga here turned almost certain defeat into a great victory and emerged with a fame which suffers nothing from being shared with his lieutenant, Hideyoshi. Imagawa on this occasion was accompanied by Iyeyasu, hitherto called Motoyasu, but after the battle the Tokugawa was convinced of the wisdom of being on good terms with Nobunaga. So he became, first, his ally and soon after his son-in-law. Imagawa, Nobunaga's most formidable enemy, was slain, and the victor was now much more powerful than the Shogun he was destined to dispossess.

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[5] *See* Walter Dening, *Life of Toyotomi Hideyoshi.*

In 1567, after the murder of Ashikaga Yoshiteru, the Emperor, following upon several vain efforts in other directions, asked the assistance of Nobunaga. He, nothing loath, marched his army to Kyoto, put the dead Shogun's brother, Yoshiaki, in the thankless and empty office, and retired with the title, bestowed upon him by the Emperor, of Vice-Shogun. In 1570, it again became necessary to make a display of military force in Kyoto, and Nobunaga took advantage of the opportunity to march also against his enemies in Echizen, Asakura Yoshikage, and Asai Nagamasa. The battle of Anegawa which ensued is another of the great contests of Japanese history. Nobunaga's victory was complete, and the confiscated estates of the defeated Nagamasa were bestowed upon Hideyoshi.

In the next year the conqueror took a terrible vengeance on the Buddhist monasteries which had given no little assistance to Yoshikage and Nagamasa. A remarkable religious revival had taken place in Japan during the closing years of the Ashikaga period and this contributed so much to the wealth of the monasteries that their arrogance increased in proportion and they behaved as soldiers ever ready to fight in the interest of the neighboring daimyos. Hara compares the monks of Hiyeizan to the republic founded by the Teutonic knights in Prussia. It was against these "turbulent shavelings" of Hiyeizan, with its eight-hundred-year-old traditions, that Nobunaga proceeded. The whole community was put to the sword, in spite of the entreaty of the monks that they might be permitted to buy their lives. The great temple, Yenryakuji, was burned and with it historical materials of irreplaceable value. Though the monastery was subsequently rebuilt, it never regained its old political importance. It certainly looks peaceful enough to-day as one looks at it from the Miyako Hotel in Kyoto. In the massacre of the monks the chief instrument of Nobunaga was the traitor-to-be, *Akechi Mitsuhide.* His subsequent fate was regarded by devout Buddhists as a punishment meted out by the gods for his sacrilegious violence. On the other hand, the burning of Hiyeizan, on "Saint Michael's day, in the year 1571," was to the Jesuits an event which evoked the greatest possible satisfaction. Nobunaga, it is probable, was troubled with but little religious feeling in the whole matter.

In 1573, the Shogun Yoshiaki showed himself disposed to play into the hands of Nobunaga's enemies, and the irate Vice-Shogun promptly deposed his creature, thus bringing to an end the 240 years' supremacy of the Ashikaga family. Yoshiaki took the tonsure and lived in Kyoto for some years longer.

Now, at last, Nobunaga was the actual ruler of Japan and issued decrees in the name of the Emperor. It was out of the question for him to become Shogun, since he did not belong to the privileged clan of the Minamoto, but his rule was none the less unchallengeable, and he pacified Japan to an extent such as had been unknown for two centuries and a half. In 1578, there were but few opponents of any consequence remaining; in fact, there was but one who had seriously to be reckoned with. This was *Mori,* Prince of Choshu, whose territory extended along the shores of the Shimonoseki Strait. Against this chieftain Hideyoshi was dispatched in the same year, and the campaign, which lasted for several seasons, was eventually about to be crowned with success. As soon as the astute Hideyoshi saw that the fall of the castle of Takamatsu was imminent, with his usual tact, he sent for Nobunaga to administer the *coup de grâce.* But, alas, the butcher of the monks of Hiyeizan, Akechi, had for some time been brooding over a piece of Nobunaga's horseplay, which by imagination he had at length transformed into a deadly insult. Feeling that when his playful commander had taken the lieutenant's head under his arm and used it as a drum he had irremediably "lost face," Akechi was now meditating an opportunity for treason. Perhaps also he had begun to suspect that Nobunaga's power was becoming too absolute for the security of his subordinates. At any rate, instead of marching to the relief of Hideyoshi, Akechi suddenly turned his forces against Nobunaga who, all unsuspicious of treachery, was resting in the temple of Honno. The odds were too unequal for the dictator to expect success in resisting his foe; so, sorely wounded, Nobunaga set fire to the temple and calmly committed seppuku, with the burning shrine for his funeral pyre. This was on June 21, 1582. It was an end quite consonant with Nobunaga's favorite verses:

> Life is short; the world is a mere dream to the idle:
> Only the fool fears death, for what is there of life
> That does not die once, sooner or later?
> Man has to die once only; he should make his death glorious.

Not long before his death Nobunaga had horrified the Christians by the erection of a temple with an image of himself before which all men were summoned to bow in worship. Assurance of great blessing was given to those who were willing to comply, and dire threats were launched against any who should have the hardihood to refuse. But all the Christians, like the "three children" of the Apocrypha, disobeyed the command, and Nobunaga's death was by the Jesuits regarded as the just punishment for his blasphemous pride. They wrote as follows: "God, Who rejects the proud and humbles the lofty Cedar of Lebanon, was not long before He avenged this horrible attempt. . . . Forgetting himself and affecting resemblance with God, the Omnipotent struck him in His fury and from Temporal fire precipitated him into everlasting flames, to teach men that there is only one God above that rules over kings and humbles the proud."

This is a somewhat severe judgment on the man who had done so much for the political unification of Japan and in preparation for the new age which was on the way.

Akechi, knowing that Hideyoshi was closely engaged in the siege of the castle of Takamatsu, made all speed to Kyoto, interviewed the Emperor, and came away exalted to the skies with the title of Shogun. It was a title destined to wither with the rapidity of a flower plucked from the field.

Nobunaga and Christianity

Before we relate the story of how Hideyoshi settled with the "Three-days' Shogun," for the murder of his master, it is necessary to bring up to date the history of the Jesuit mission. The fathers had early learned that, if Japan was to be converted, it must be through the influence of the daimyo. Consequently, it is easy to understand why very earnest efforts were made to bring about the conversion of those high in authority. In several conspicuous instances they met with success, as in the case of the princes of Omura, Bungo, and

Arima. But the most substantial aid received during these years came through the favor of Nobunaga. There was never any real likelihood of Nobunaga himself accepting the claims of Christianity, but his hostility against the Buddhists and particularly against the politico-military establishments maintained by the monasteries of Hiyeizan, was so bitter as to make him more than ready to play off the Christian missionaries against his foes. Consequently, the Jesuits found ample reason for writing home: "This man seems to have been raised up by God to open and prepare the way for our faith." Not only were sites provided and churches built in Kyoto and Azuchi, but protection was afforded on at least two occasions when proscription of the new religion was threatened by the Emperor. One was during the days of civil turmoil which followed upon the murder of the Shogun Yoshiteru in 1565. There were not wanting Buddhists of the Nichiren sect to connect Christianity with the assassination, and it was fortunate that Nobunaga was willing to bring his own influence to bear upon a very dangerous situation. He performed the same good office for the Christians in 1568. Father Villela was received with the greatest possible courtesy by the new Shogun and the years which followed proved a halcyon time for the Jesuit propaganda. In 1582, the year of Nobunaga's death, Father Alessandro Valignani was sent out by the Pope, Gregory XIII, with gifts to the converted Japanese princes and two counselors who were received by Pope Gregory and his successor Sixtus V. They visited Rome, Lisbon, and Madrid to see the wonders of the West and report on the same on their return as Jesuit priests. It has been established that about this time there were no less than four similar embassies whose main object was to detach the Pontiff from support of the intruding Spaniards.[6] When the envoys returned to Japan they found the political situation changed and Hideyoshi much less favorable to the missionaries than his predecessor had been.

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[6] *See* Bishop Casartelli, *Christianity in Japan,* pp. 7, 8.

The Three-days' Shogun

Immediately on the death of Nobunaga, Akechi Mitsuhide, in addition to his adroit haste to make terms with the Emperor, sent at once to Mori Terumoto, whom Hideyoshi was besieging, to inform him as to the new turn events had taken, and to propose a joint attack on Hideyoshi. But the great soldier was also a consummate statesman and had already concluded, on very favorable terms, a truce with Mori. Nevertheless, the peril for a while was extreme. A large party of horsemen was sent to intercept Hideyoshi on his way back from the castle of Takamatsu and the stratagem all but succeeded. Suddenly, around the intended victim, arose the emissaries of murder with the cry: "We have come from Shogun Mitsuhide to take your head." Hideyoshi did not hesitate. Under a shower of arrows, he turned his horse into a narrow path between the rice fields, where his opponents could follow only singly. Then, just before reaching the temple, *Kotokuji,* where it was taken for granted he would be caught "like a rat in a bag," he dismounted, stabbed his horse in the leg so that it fled backward along the path, scattered his pursuers in its flight, and entered the shrine where the monks were taking their bath. To disrobe, hide his clothes under the veranda, get his head shaved, and then to mingle among the bonzes in the heated water, was for Hideyoshi the work of but two or three minutes. So, when the panting horsemen came along the supposed trail, the fugitive was, although in plain sight, nowhere to be found. Shortly after came Hideyoshi's bodyguard, under *Kato Kiyomasa,* the soldier famous (as every Japanese schoolboy knows) for having slain a tiger with his bare hands, and afterwards the *vir ter execrandus* ('the thrice-execrable man') of the Jesuits. The newcomers were not a little surprised to find their master among the priests. They might have asked like the Israelites of old, "Is Saul also among the prophets?" for Hideyoshi had no love for his old associates, the bonzes. With lightning speed the general gathered his allies to avenge the death of Nobunaga upon the upstart. A farmer happened to bring some melons to refresh the weary soldiers. As he cut up the fruit, Hideyoshi exclaimed: "So shall we chop up the forces of the foe." It proved no vain boast, for a pitched battle was speedily forced at Yamazaki in which Akechi was disastrously defeated. Twelve days after the murder of Nobunaga, Akechi Mitsuhide was murdered by the farmers of the neighborhood and his head dispatched to Hideyoshi. Thus ended the career of the Three-days' Shogun.

Renewed civil war

When the feudal chiefs assembled themselves at the castle of Kyoto, it was for the purpose of deciding upon Nobunaga's successor. Two sons of the deceased soldier were favored, *Nobuo* (or Nobukatsu) and *Nobutaka.* Both were children by secondary wives. There was also a grandson named *Samboshi,* son of the deceased Nobutada. Each of this trio had his champions, but Hideyoshi unhesitatingly threw his support to the infant Samboshi. Whether he was actuated by personal ambition or sincerely desirous of saving the land from a renewal of the old anarchy may legitimately be the subject of debate. In any case, at Nobunaga's funeral ceremony, while the other chiefs were considering somewhat doubtfully their most politic course, Hideyoshi audaciously stepped to the forefront with the child Samboshi in his arms, followed by sixteen stalwart retainers armed to the teeth. None could mistake the course he had made up his mind to follow. Hideyoshi's "cuckoo" motto was:

Nakanu nara
Nakashite misho
Hototogisu.
(If the cuckoo will not sing,
I will teach the stubborn thing.)

Hideyoshi's career was a very epic of audacity, but no one was more patient than the great soldier through all his tangled way of plotting and intrigue. When decisive action was called for, the right step was always forthcoming, without a moment of hesitation or delay.

In a few days the opposition showed itself in arms. Hideyoshi's old-time comrade, *Shibata Katsuiye,* took the field in support of Nobutaka and was defeated in a hard-fought battle. When Shibata realized that his cause was lost, he retired to his castle of Fukui, gathered together wife, children, and retainers, gave a great feast with dancing and singing, bade any of the women who chose to withdraw, and then, on their refusal, calmly set fire to the building. The women and children were slain by the men, who immediately after took the accustomed exit from life. Brinkley speaks of this as one of the most dramatic events of Japanese history. Nobutaka himself had escaped from the battle, but he, too, soon after, sought release by suicide from a hopeless and intolerable situation.

In 1584 followed the campaign known as the *Komaki* war. Samboshi, Hideyoshi's candidate for the succession, was put aside as promising only incompetence and eventually settled down as one of his patron's vassals. Nobuo, on the other hand, felt the necessity of taking up the cause of his house and was fortunate enough to attract for a time the aid of no less a person than Tokugawa Iyeyasu. As a military operation, the campaign proved indecisive. It has been alleged that Iyeyasu proved himself a match for Hideyoshi in generalship. The truth appears rather to be that Hideyoshi's generals, acting contrary to his orders, met defeat more than once. However, after some eight months' campaigning, the two great soldiers came to terms and in 1586 were once more friends. The friendship was cemented by Iyeyasu's receiving in marriage the younger sister of Hideyoshi.

Soon after this Hideyoshi was appointed *Kwambaku,* or

Regent, by the Emperor and assumed the family name of Toyotomi. It was a wonderful triumph for the "monkey-faced sandal-bearer of Nobunaga." A story is told that at the beginning of his military career Hideyoshi assumed as his battle standard the calabash, or water gourd, of the common soldier and that with every victory he added another calabash.[7] This picturesque tale is not historical, but we may note that at this point of his career Hideyoshi did make the symbol of his never failing victory the golden gourd which the soldiers of Japan were never reluctant to follow, even though it led them downward to the "Yellow Springs" of the underworld.

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[7] *Cf.* the story of the blacksmith, Kawah, who made his blacksmith's apron the national standard of Persia.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE REGENCY OF HIDEYOSHI

Hideyoshi as Regent

Hideyoshi would fain have made himself Shogun, but it was contrary to established precedent for any one not a Minamoto to receive the name, whatever he might win in the way of the substance of the office. The ex-Shogun Yoshiaki, moreover, could not be persuaded to adopt the successful upstart into the privileged family. The Fujiwara family, poorer than of wont, but still aristocratic, was found more amenable to suggestion and, through his connection with this illustrious house, Hideyoshi was enabled to hold the distinguished office of *Kwambaku,* or Commander-in-Chief. As Kwambaku, he at once set to work with vigor to restore peace and justice to the long harassed land. The rules he made for himself are worthy of reproduction. They run as follows: "Things that are important should be settled in full conference: minor matters may be decided by a conference of two or three. Let nothing be unduly postponed. Receive no bribes. Let there be no partiality. Let there be no friends or enemies. Favor not the rich: despise not the poor." So the periods of peace which fell to Hideyoshi's lot were well occupied with efforts to restore confidence among nobles and people alike. A new land survey was ordered and made the basis for a more equitable system of taxation. The old manorial system was almost entirely swept away. A new gold and silver coinage was introduced. Art was encouraged and a new art capital created at Fushimi, at which 250,000 men toiled for months. Screens were painted at Hideyoshi's command numerous enough to line the road when the Kwambaku traveled. The tea ceremony and its adjuncts were enthusiastically cultivated. The tea master, *Rikyu,* was an especial favorite, and the story is told of Hideyoshi's visit to see Rikyu's famous collection of morning-glories. To secure the proper effect upon Hideyoshi the artist destroyed all his garden of blooms but one superb blossom, in order that this one should shine with true queenly distinction.[1] Brigandage, moreover, was suppressed and trade encouraged with China and Annam. Beautiful buildings arose in Kyoto, including the splendid Juraku Palace. A colossal image of Buddha was reared to rival the "Daibutsu" of Nara and Kamakura. In this case, there was even more than rivalry, for, whereas the Nara image took twenty-seven years to finish, Hideyoshi accomplished the making of his in five. Fifty thousand men slaved at the task, and among these Hideyoshi, clad in the garb of a common laborer. Yet, when this tremendous image was thrown down in the earthquake of 1596, it is said that Hideyoshi, impatient with weakness, even though divine, shot an arrow at the prostrate idol. He said, "I placed you here at great expense, and you cannot even defend your own temple."

Among the mightiest of all Hideyoshi's undertakings was the building of the great castle of Osaka. Even to-day, in spite of the stages of demolition effected in 1614 and 1868, through the great fortress (now the headquarters of the Fourth Army Division) the imagination of Hideyoshi dominates Japan. To pass those great concentric ramparts, in which are stones thirty-eight feet by eighteen, to climb gradually to the top of the citadel whence it is possible to see far away to the south the shrine of Sumiyoshi where the Sea Gods are worshiped who gave victory to Jingo—is to realize something of the stature of the man who did so much for the reconstruction of Japan. The writer asked in vain of the engineers of Osaka how those mighty stones were so delicately placed. The legend which explains their presence tells of Hideyoshi's promise of reward to the daimyo who brought him the biggest stone. It is plain that an uprising against the power of the Kwambaku was unlikely when the clan leaders were thus engaged. It was the creation of this stupendous castle which gave the poor fishing village the start which has led to Osaka's becoming the largest of the cities of Japan.

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[1] Rikyu and Hideyoshi subsequently quarreled, the former being accused of dishonesty and the latter of corrupting the tea master's daughter. Rikyu committed seppuku.

Only one warlike enterprise of the first order broke the peace of these years. This was the expedition for the reduction of the *Satsuma* clan in Kyushu. A huge army was collected, the largest ever commanded by Hideyoshi,[2] and the Satsuma leader, *Shimazu Yoshihisa,* was thoroughly beaten. Once again, however, the Regent showed that he knew how to secure a lasting peace through a timely magnanimity. Ere yet the castle of Kagoshima was subdued, Hideyoshi gave the proud Satsuma daimyo an opportunity to "save face" by permitting the clan to substitute the son for the father as its chief. So all was happily settled and no bitterness left behind. "To advance so far," says Mr. Gubbins, "and yet not enter the rebel capital; to have his enemy within his grasp and yet not crush him; to hold back a victorious army in the hour of victory; all this argues a forbearance and strength of will which few generals in those days possessed, and which we certainly would not look for to the feudal days of Japan."[3]

Little more fighting remained for Hideyoshi in Japan itself. Expeditions in the north took on the semblance of semiroyal progresses and enabled the victor to consolidate his popularity throughout the land. He found time to revisit the scenes of his childhood, make friends with the villagers, and congratulate them on the improvement observable around them. He looked up the peasant wife whom long years ago he had divorced and made her a generous present in money. He also looked up one of his old masters from whom he had "borrowed" a sum of money in order to appear as a soldier before Nobunaga, and repaid the theft with princely interest. Most memorable action of all, Hideyoshi discerned, with the eye of the born strategist, the possibilities of the site of Yedo, then a mere fishing village overlooked by the castle of *Ota Dokwan*, one of the many poets of the ages of chivalry. Hideyoshi exacted a promise from Iyeyasu, who was with him at the time, that he would make the site his future dwelling place. So the Regent prophetically fixed the position of the present capital of the Empire.

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[2] No contemporary European generals commanded such large forces as Hideyoshi was accustomed to handle. Till recent times, no such army as Hideyoshi's 250,000 Korean army had been transported overseas. *See* James Murdoch, *History of Japan,* III, 93.

[3] *See* Gubbins, *The Making of Modern Japan.*

Hideyoshi and Christianity

It is more than probable that Hideyoshi had, as a matter of fact, no very pronounced religious convictions. Such may be gathered from his boyish escapade while a pupil of the bonzes. Such also one infers from those delightfully jocose letters to the gods, such as Mr. Dening gives as an appendix to his biography of the Regent. A letter to the god of the foxes threatening the foxes of Japan with extinction if the "possession" of one of his maidservants were not immediately relieved must have been curative of the girl even if the "apologizing for the imperfections of this letter" were not acceptable to Inari Daimyojin.[4]

It is perhaps due to this fact that, without the bitter hostility against Buddhism which marked the attitude of Nobunaga, Hideyoshi, for the greater part of his career, was not intolerant of Christianity. In 1584, he is reported as being not at all unfavorable to the Christians and, indeed, preferred "them to all the sects of the bonzes." He is also reported to have said on one occasion: "I find no other difference in Christianity except the prohibition of having more than one wife. Were it not for that I would become a Christian at once." The missionaries wrote: "He is not only not opposed to the things of God, but he is entrusting to Christians his treasures, secrets and most important fortresses." Several of the court ladies became converts; one famous savant, *Manase Dokwan,* "the most learned man in all Japan," entered the Church followed by his whole school of eight hundred pupils;[5] in 1583, the famous soldier, *Konishi Yukinaga,* who used to serve Hideyoshi his cups of tea, was baptized. But the reduction of Kyushu in some measure carried with it the prediction of trouble to come, for the Christian daimyo of the southern island found their influence considerably curbed by the growing supremacy of the Regent. Probably the fear, on the part of Hideyoshi and his successors, that the southern daimyo might use their relations with the foreigner to resist the authority established at the capital may be assigned as one reason for the Shoguns' hostility towards Christianity—a reason which has not yet been sufficiently emphasized. In any case, Hideyoshi made a kind of *volte face* in 1587, and the edict of that year, commanding the Jesuits to leave the country within twenty days, under pain of death, came as a great shock. About 120 missionaries were collected at Hirado and ordered to take passage on the next outgoing ship. Yet something else occurred to modify Hideyoshi's attitude, and the continued presence of the missionaries was winked at. Conversions still proceeded apace, 23,000 being baptized in 1589 in Kyushu alone. Two years later, the Regent received Visitor-General Valegnani and was delighted with the present of a clock. He remained in conversation with the Jesuit far into the night. But serious trouble arose soon after and this time from the foreigners themselves. Although the crowns of Spain and Portugal had been united in 1580 under Philip II, there was still great commercial rivalry between the two countries. Spanish merchants were as envious of Portuguese trade in Japan as the Spanish Franciscans and Dominicans were jealous of the spiritual monopoly of the Portuguese Jesuits which had been conceded by Pope Gregory XIII, in 1585. Several Franciscans from Manila succeeded in gaining admission to Japan as envoys of the Governor of the Philippines and presently opened up a church in Nagasaki. A painful and mischievous situation developed. The Franciscans claimed exemption from the Bull of 1585, since they had come in the character of envoys rather than as missionaries. In 1587 came the incident of the *San Felipe*, a Spanish ship whose pilot boasted loudly of the expanding dominion of his master, the King of Spain. When asked how Spain had come by these vast territories, he replied that the missionaries went first and the soldiers of the Empire followed hard after. This roused all Hideyoshi's wrath and suspicion and from thenceforth Christianity appeared to him as a kind of disguised treason. Well might the Jesuit annalist say of the too candid pilot: "This unfortunate inflicted a wound on religion which is bleeding still after the lapse of a century and a half."

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[4] *See* Walter Dening, *Life of Toyotomi Hideyoshi*, Appendix.

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[5] *See* Murdoch, *op. cit.,* III, 94.

The same year came the persecution which is marked particularly by "the Crucifixion of the Twenty-six." [6] The victims included six Spanish Franciscans, three Japanese Jesuits, and seventeen Japanese laymen. Three were boys, servers at the altar, from eleven to fourteen years old. Prior to execution they were mutilated and the Jesuit narrative (transmitted by the first Christian Bishop in Japan, Pedro Martinez) tells how Father Organtino looked at the ears and noses slashed off by the executioners and welcomed them with tears of compassion and joy as "the flowers of this new church which I humbly offer to God." As the sad procession passed through the streets with the tablet, setting forth their crime, displayed before them, the multitude crowded the windows and roofs. Arrived in Nagasaki, the victims found twenty-six crosses set up in a line, and prepared to die. Some lifted up their voices in song; some stood absorbed in contemplation. "Little Ludovico instantly asked which was his cross and, on its being shown him, ran up to it with great devotion and fervor. . . . Many other things," writes Froes, "might be added to this account which, for the sake of brevity, I leave out. This only I say, that the fruit of this glorious martyrdom remains, because all the Christians, new as well as old, have been singularly confirmed in the faith and stir up in each other desire for the way of eternal salvation, and firmly settle their minds to give their lives for the confession of the name of Christian." [7]

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[6] *See* "The Crucifixion of the Twenty-six," *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan,* Vol. XLVI, Part 1.

It is no wonder that many of these Christians regarded Hideyoshi's death in the following year with satisfaction and not without hope. Yet, to form an entirely just estimate of the situation, it should be recalled that "three days before him died Philip II of Spain" and those who view with surprise and shame the inhumanity of Hideyoshi may well judge him as a persecutor alongside his European and Christian contemporary.

The campaigns in Korea

"The one great mistake of his life"—this is the not inadequate description of the latest of Hideyoshi's enterprises. As to his motives for undertaking the invasion of the peninsula a number of more or less plausible theories have been suggested. Some have said it was to give employment to the dangerously efficient army or restless daimyo and samurai, and to forestall any further attempt at rebellion. Others have told of Hideyoshi's frantic grief for his dead child, the babe of his much beloved Azai, and of the determination to cure his sorrow by a warrior's exploits. Still others have brought forth the story, which is quite legendary, of his having entertained the idea from early days. One day, says the tale, visiting at Kamakura, he had patted the effigy of Yoritomo on the shoulder, with the remark: "You conquered all Japan; I shall conquer all China. What do you think of that?" He had talked over the matter with Nobunaga and had declared that it was possible to conquer China as easily as a man rolls up a mat and goes off with it under his arm.

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[7] Froes, *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan,* Vol. XLVI, Part 1.

From documents in the possession of the Marquis Maeda it would appear that Hideyoshi's real motive was not territorial conquest at all, but the desire to make a channel of communication with the Ming dynasty in China. The Koreans refused and Hideyoshi thereupon became angry. It is important to note that, if we accept these documents, the original object was diplomatic and not military. Diplomatic refusal led to military action.[8]

It was explained that the Korean emissaries had ceased to come on account of the menace of Japanese piracy, but the Regent readily connected the omission with their contempt for him and his lowly birth. A few pirates, however, were drastically dealt with and the ambassadors came, to receive from Taiko Sama a somewhat cavalier welcome. After being kept kicking their heels at court for a long time, they were sent back with an arrogant message which showed that at this stage, war had been resolved upon. Hideyoshi, tossing up a few coins, was pleased to find that the result of "heads up" was predictive of a successful campaign, though he was a little disconcerted at the refusal of the foreign merchants to lend him their ships.

"Ships are necessary to Japan," said an imperial edict of over a thousand years ago, and Hideyoshi must have foreseen the need even before bitter experience stressed the lesson. He tried in vain to get help at sea through the Portuguese Jesuits, and the failure to do so was largely the failure of the whole enterprise.[9] For what the Japanese lacked the Koreans possessed and, together with the ships, a great naval genius in the Korean Admiral, *Yi Sun,* the inventor and first to employ the ironclad which played such deadly havoc with the Japanese transports. Yi Sun was killed in the course of his sixth naval victory and died, like Nelson, conscious of having broken the ambition of his foe. Apart from the lack of sea power, the strategy of the Japanese army was not unlike that of the campaigns of 1894 and 1904, but the one difference was determinative. One army was under the command of the Christian general, *Konishi Yukinaga,* the Don Austin of the Jesuits, who bore as his banner the paper medicine bag which proclaimed him the son of a druggist. The other was commanded by the no less distinguished Buddhist hero, *Kato Kiyomasa,* son of a blacksmith and now worshiped as a god. No love was apparently wasted between the two leaders, and the lack of coördination which resulted had very mischievous consequences. Naturally the Japanese pushed ahead rapidly for a time, defeating the forces opposed to them "as easily as a bamboo is split." There seemed so far good ground for Hideyoshi's prediction that the Mikado would enter Peking in 1594 and divide the estates of China among his nobles. But the naval successes of the Koreans put another face upon the matter and when the armies of the peninsula were reënforced by a powerful expedition from China, Konishi was forced to beat a precipitate retreat, though he was still able to inflict a severe defeat on the enemy who had the temerity to pursue him. Soon after, the Christian general fell into a diplomatic trap. He received assurances, as he believed, that the Chinese were willing to invest Hideyoshi with some high-sounding title giving him rank with the Emperor of China. Thereupon the Regent consented to the opening of negotiations with Peking. In anticipation of his exaltation to imperial rank he even employed 100,000 men to erect a hall of audience such as should be worthy of the approaching inauguration. Unfortunately, before this splendid pavilion could be used, a series of terrible earthquakes leveled the entire edifice. But another sort of earthquake followed the physical. The expected embassy arrived in 1596, with a great show of solemn pomp, and proceeded to the investiture of Taiko Sama. But what was the horror of Hideyoshi when he discovered that the specious document which was being read was in reality transforming him into a vassal of the Middle Kingdom! The Regent was by no means ready, as had been Yoshimitsu, to submit to so grave an insult. Boiling with rage, he at once broke off the negotiations. "He became inflamed with a great anger and fury as if a legion of devils had taken possession of him. So loudly did he vociferate and perspire that vapor exhaled from his head." Some say that he tore up the paper, but the counterstatement is that the offensive document is still to be seen (or was until the earthquake) in the archives of the Imperial University at Tokyo. Hideyoshi was now more than ever resolved to carry on the war. Kato and Konishi were sent back with large reënforcements for the garrisons, and the interrupted campaign was vigorously resumed. A slightly better showing was made at sea than before, but the Japanese gained only barren victories on land. On October 30, 1598, a great battle resulted in the taking of 38,000 heads by the victorious islanders, and barrels of pickled ears and noses were sent back as trophies. They form the mound in the enclosure of the Hokoji at Kyoto known as the *mimizuka* ('ear mound'). Another victory shortly after led the Chinese to ask for terms of peace.

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[8] Private information from Professor Haga.

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[9] *See* Vice-Admiral G. A. Ballard, *The Influence of the Sea on the Political History of Japan.*

Meanwhile, the news had arrived of Hideyoshi's death.

Taiko Sama had met the last grim adversary of all, and the banner of the Golden Gourd was at length brought low. The great soldier's last pathetic cry was: "Don't let my soldiers be made ghosts in Korea." Hideyoshi had evidently no illusions with regard to the collapse of his grandiose designs. The disillusionment of the tired soldier as well as the resigned pessimism of one who at heart was Buddhist are reflected in the deathbed verse:

> Ah, as the dew I fall!
>   As the dew I vanish!
> Even Osaka fortress
>   Is a dream within a dream.

Yet, even out of the Korean campaign, came some measure of good. Many Korean artisans returned with the Japanese soldiers. The poverty of the daimyo, at the end of the war, was such that they were glad to use the foreign potters for the revival of industry. So it came to pass that the ensuing age was the great time for Japanese ceramics. Through the same channel, moreover, the use of movable type for printing was introduced from the continent.

Hideyoshi and the succession

Just before the Korean war Hideyoshi had named as his heir his nephew, Hidetsugu, a man of "quick and penetrating wit and excellent judgment, and withal a most courteous and obliging manner." But ere long, Hideyoshi's wife, the Lady Yodo, gave birth to a son and to this son Hideyoshi immediately transferred his favor. This was natural, but the treatment meted out to the ex-heir was cruelly unnatural. Hidetsugu and his pages were ordered to commit seppuku and, immediately after, all his family, the attendant ladies of his court, even the little children from three to five years old, were carted out to the common execution grounds in the bed of the Kamo, murdered with barbarous and insulting cruelty, and their bodies cast into a pit called "the pit of beasts."

The Taiko Sama, still fearful lest his son, Hideyori, should be robbed of his inheritance, appointed five Councilors of State, under whom were three Middlemen (*Churo*) and five Commissioners (*Bugyo*), who were called upon to sign a solemn oath in the presence of the gods to protect the interests of the minor. One of these Councilors was *Tokugawa Iyeyasu,* who was, moreover, selected as Regent to govern until Hideyori came of age. Some have claimed that Iyeyasu was given discretion to judge of Hideyori's capacity and character and to act accordingly, but this is doubtful and unlikely. The *Bugyo* kept secret for awhile the Taiko's death, which occurred on September 18, 1598, but by the end of the year all was ready for the stately obsequies. A special shrine was built behind Kyoto and "solemnly and formally dedicated to the new War God of Japan." So the ugliest man in Japan was raised *ad astra* among the kami.

Estimate of Hideyoshi

In life, writes one of the Jesuit fathers, "he was of very diminutive stature, pretty fat and extremely strong; he had six fingers on one of his hands and something hideous in his presence and in the traits of his countenance. He had no beard and his eyes stood out from his head in such an ugly fashion that it was painful to look at him."

The Jesuits had ceased to expect anything of him after the persecution of 1597, so it is not surprising that they wrote of "this unhappy prince": "None were sorry for his death but such as proposed to enrich themselves by his life; for the Nobility, they were all much better pleased to see him on the list of the dead Gods than in the land of living men."

Nevertheless, most recognized his greatness, and few to-day will deny that he ranks among the very greatest men the Orient has produced. The principles which guided him throughout his life, says Dening, were "that he sacrificed the little to the great, temporary advancement and honor to the attainment of his ultimate aims, he put up with affronts and rebuffs, refused to take offence at what was intended to offend, submitted for the time being that he might conquer eventually."

Hideyoshi was singularly lacking in guile and refused the present of a shrike, known as "the hundred-tongued bird," because it suggested a man of many voices. He had that indefinable something which we inadequately term presence, a something which exercised a kind of compelling influence upon his associates, whether superiors or inferiors. To quote Mr. Dening again: "Nothing that he personally superintended failed, because, before commencing operations, his keen foresight had anticipated every difficulty and made ample provision for it; and the stars were not more punctual than his arithmetic." [10]

Hideyoshi's influence on Japan

The *Momoyama* period, as the epoch of Hideyoshi is called, from the Peach Hill (Momo-yama) Palace built for the dictator in a suburb of Kyoto, was inevitably a time of many changes. The age had long been ripe for some transformation, but had been awaiting the right men to carry through the transition. Nobunaga had done something towards this by breaking down old traditions, but it was reserved for Hideyoshi to secure unity for the Empire and inaugurate the new era waiting for its opportunity.

Some changes were, of course, the result of the new foreign contacts. It was certain that with the introduction of firearms through the Portuguese the old methods of warfare must be superseded. The substitution of musketry for bows and arrows led to entirely different tactics. The personal prowess of the knights of Japan was no longer of the same importance as in the old days. Moreover, the peasantry, now trained to bear arms, attained a quite new significance. The new architecture, as in the case of Hideyoshi's castle at Osaka, made from henceforth a siege something very unlike what it had been in earlier ages.

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[10] Dening, *op. cit.*

Many of the changes, however, were the result of Hideyoshi's own personality and capacity for government. While not indisposed to enrich his own relatives, the dictator's unique power of reading character saved him from mere nepotism. He generally secured capable and trustworthy subordinates. His shrewdness of judgment is reflected in the many "instructions" of his which survive, such as: "In a quarrel the one who forbears shall be recognized as having reason," or "Set up fences in your hearts against wandering and extravagant thoughts." These mottoes represent his practice as well as his philosophy.

It is clear that the fact of Hideyoshi's having risen to supreme authority from the lowliest station had a good deal to do with the development of democracy in Japan. In the selection of instruments, while seeking first of all for ability, Hideyoshi had no prejudice against the employment of commoners. Moreover, though he could be, on occasion, as ostentatious as the best aristocrat of them all, his general frugality, simplicity, and accessibility secured him a degree of popularity which had its part in breaking down the barriers of caste. For all these reasons, it may be truthfully said that with Hideyoshi begins the history of modern Japan.

CHAPTER XIX

THE FIRST TOKUGAWA SHOGUN

Iyeyasu

Dr. Hara has said that Nobunaga quarried the stones for the new Japan, Hideyoshi rough-cut them, and Iyeyasu gave them the final touch which fitted them for their proper place. Iyeyasu moves in an entirely different orbit from that of Hideyoshi, but he is certainly a star of the first magnitude in the firmament of Japanese history.

At the time of Hideyoshi's death the landed estates of Japan were in the hands of some 214 daimyo. Of these by far the most powerful was Tokugawa Iyeyasu, who was practically the possessor of eight provinces in the Kwanto, or eastern part of the main island. Hideyoshi had made him president of the Council of Regency and the special guardian of his son, Hideyori.

Iyeyasu derived his descent from Minamoto-no-Yoshiiye. The name Tokugawa is taken from a village of that name in the province of Shimotsuke, but for a long time the family bore the name of Matsudaira. Iyeyasu had, as we have seen, served both with Nobunaga and with Hideyoshi, but he had never been entirely free from the suspicion of self-seeking. There was some doubt as to the paternal parentage of Hideyori and, in any case, he was a minor and a weakling too obviously under the influence of *Ishida Mitsunari,* Iyeyasu's enemy on the council. His mother, too, the Lady Yodo, had her own ambitions and was in league with some of the nobles who were plotting against the Tokugawa. One may also credit Iyeyasu with the same desire to save the country from protracted anarchy which is assumed in the case of Hideyoshi. According to the standards of the time, it would be as difficult to condemn the conduct of Iyeyasu for his dealings with the family of Hideyoshi as to blame the latter for his setting aside of the house of Oda. Each followed the bent of his own nature.

Apparently, Hideyoshi had determined to trust Iyeyasu implicitly. Once, on the road to Kyoto, one of the chiefs had suggested to Iyeyasu a good opportunity to slay the Taiko. Possibly Hideyoshi overheard, for he presently remarked quite casually to the Tokugawa: "I am an old man; won't you carry my sword for me?" In the council of the five, however, after Hideyoshi's death, and immediately after arrangements had been made for bringing back the troops from Korea, dissension broke out. In the council both Mitsunari and Naganori were hostile to Iyeyasu and they commenced intriguing at once to embroil him with others. For example, Mitsunari would ask Mayeda Toshiiye to invite Iyeyasu for a visit, whereupon his fellow conspirator would warn the Tokugawa against accepting. By ways like this dissension was only too easily fomented, and although the "seven generals," as the leading supporters of the Tokugawa were called, urged a way out by the murder of Mitsunari, Iyeyasu for some unknown reason pardoned the offender. The dividing line between parties in the country itself is difficult to draw. Generally speaking, the north was on the Tokugawa side, while the south sided with Ishida Mitsunari. With the south, too, went the influence of the Christians, and the leading southern generals, Mitsunari, Yukinaga, and Otani, were all Christians. So, without any overt act on the part of Iyeyasu, the forces were aligned for civil conflict. Hideyoshi's son, of course, played only a minor rôle in this whole business of clashing ambitions, while his cause was weakened by the claims put forth by some on behalf of another of Hideyoshi's children.

The battle of Sekigahara (1600)

The spark which, amid all this combustible material, kindled the flame of open war was supplied by the request, or summons, addressed by Iyeyasu to Uyesugi Kagekatsu, one of Ishida's allies, and lord of Aizu, asking his presence at Kyoto. This the chief, who had already planned an attack on the Tokugawa, refused and the refusal was naturally regarded as tantamount to the opening of hostilities. A large army was raised by Iyeyasu, possibly of 70,000 men, and against this force the confederate western leaders were able to place in the field a much larger one. But, of the 120,000 in the western army, there were several chiefs whose forces constituted the right wing, who were really on the fence and only awaiting a favorable moment in order to change their allegiance. The decision of the contest, as Murdoch puts it, was to depend upon the men who lied most honestly. It was a foggy morning in October, 1600, that Iyeyasu marched out with his troops, his standard of a golden fan and a white flag embroidered with the Tokugawa hollyhocks at their head. He was in the highest spirits and, when the diviners announced that the road was closed before him, he replied: "Then I shall open it by my knocking." The opposing armies met at *Sekigahara,* a place not for from the capital, "the plain of the barrier." As soon as the fog lifted, the battle was commenced with a vigorous cannonade and the firing off of all kinds of foreign guns. But the use of these weapons was not sufficiently general to satisfy the spirit of the combatants and the armies were very soon engaged in the more familiar Japanese way. The conflict was one of extreme bitterness and for a time the issue seemed doubtful. Then Iyeyasu determined to bring to a decision the clans he knew were hesitating. This he did by firing upon them and the result was exactly as he had foreseen. With the accession of the right wing of the western army, Iyeyasu was able to charge against the rest of the line and from this moment the Tokugawa arms began to prevail. The slaughter was prodigious. Japanese accounts give the toll of the confederate dead alone as 40,000. This is probably an exaggeration, yet the figure may very well have been not much short of that total. There was no rallying after the enemy line had once been broken. The familiar story is that, when the decision was gained, Iyeyasu, who had fought through all the battle bareheaded, sent for his helmet and, when the attendants expressed surprise, made use of the epigram: "After victory tighten the strings of your helmet." Acting on this principle, he proceeded at once to reap the fruits of his success by capturing the castles of Hakone and Fushimi and the cities of Kyoto and Osaka. Many were the fugitives who were seized and executed. Among them were the leading generals on the other side, such as Ishida Mitsunari and Konishi Yukinaga, who as Christians were beheaded instead of being forced to commit seppuku. Hideyori, with his near relatives, fled to the castle of Osaka, where Iyeyasu made conciliatory advances with little result. The battle of Sekigahara, October 21, 1600, deserves to be regarded as one of the decisive turning points of Japanese history.

The victor used his triumph with tact and moderation. The third of the "cuckoo" epigrams is put into the mouth of Iyeyasu and runs as follows:

Nakanu nara
Nako made mato
Hototogisu.
(If the cuckoo to sing be not inclined,
I will wait until he change his mind.)

Like the others it is eminently descriptive and applicable. Iyeyasu did nothing, at least at this stage, to exasperate his enemies, and for a number of years Hideyori was left unmolested.

The Tokugawa chief, however, was determined that the history of Nobunaga's and of Hideyoshi's children should not repeat itself in his own line. With far-seeing statesmanship he at once took steps to make supremacy secure both for his own lifetime and for that of his successors. Whatever we may think of the date of what is known as "The Legacy of Iyeyasu," to which we shall make reference a little later, so far as the principles of the document are concerned, Iyeyasu began to apply them to the situation from the beginning. The immense spoil which the victory of Sekigahara had placed in his hands, in the shape of confiscated fiefs, he used to ensure the weakening and dividing of his foes and the strengthening of the Tokugawa clan. In a short time a hundred and fifty-eight of the fiefs were held by members of his own family. He was equally solicitous with regard to the validating of his own authority and in 1603 received from the Emperor *Go Yozei* the proud title of Sei-i-tai-Shogun, which had once been bestowed upon Yoritomo.

Pacifying the Empire

Then, following up the suggestion of Hideyoshi, Iyeyasu made *Yedo* the capital of his administrative machine. He spent vast sums on making it a capital equal in importance to Kyoto and Kamakura, but free from the traditions of effeminacy and misrule. The work in Yedo had indeed been begun as early as 1590, but the transformation of "a sea-beaten beach with only fishermen's huts thereon" into an imposing metropolis now began in earnest. It was the outward and visible sign to the Empire that a new era had indeed commenced.

Iyeyasu and Christianity

Iyeyasu differed from his immediate predecessors in being devoutly attached to Buddhism, in which religion he favored the Jodo sect. He wore the image of Amida on his person, and ascribed all his victories to the intercession of that divinity. But his attitude towards the Christians was determined by political rather than by religious motives. For the first years

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of his rule a period of comparative peace and prosperity ensued under Bishop Luiz Cerqueyra. In 1606, Iyeyasu received the Bishop at Kyoto or Fushimi and granted him favors. The new religion continued to flourish, particularly in Kyushu. Daimyo were converted, colleges were established, hospitals founded, and in 1606 the beatification of Ignatius Loyola was celebrated at Nagasaki with a splendid procession in which Dominicans, Franciscans, and Augustinians joined with the Jesuits. Nor was it only in the south that the work prospered. With the Bull of Pope Paul V, permitting the sharing of the work by orders other than the Jesuits, missionaries came in increasing numbers. The work was carried even to Yezo (Hokkaido) in the north and to remote districts such as Tsugaru and the island of Sado. We must not, however, ignore the reverse side of this pleasing picture. Some of the princely converts gave to their subjects the alternative of Christianity or banishment, and, in many places, the Buddhists were deprived of their lands and temples. The causes for Iyeyasu's change of policy, rather than change of heart, may be succinctly stated as follows:

1. The unpleasing exhibition of bigotry manifested in some of the districts where the Christians had the upper hand.
2. The quarrel between the Spanish Dominicans and Franciscans, on the one hand, and the Portuguese Jesuits on the other.
3. The evil report given of the faith by the Dutch traders who were naturally embittered with memories of the Inquisition in Europe.
4. Iyeyasu's personal suspicion of the political intentions of the missionaries. This was quickened by reports from the Philippine Islands and by misunderstandings connected with the survey of Japanese waters by the Spaniard, Sebastian, with the help of the Franciscan, Father Sotelo. When Will Adams, the English pilot, declared that in Europe such procedure would have been viewed as an act of hostility, Iyeyasu replied: "If the rulers of Europe do not tolerate the acts of these friars, why should I?"
5. The fact that the Christians as a body supported the cause

of Iyeyasu's enemy, Hideyori. Kaempfer, the Dutch historian, says that "the young emperor, Fidejori, who was put to death by his tutor, Ijejas," was suspected of being a Christian.

The political elements at the back of Iyeyasu's policy of persecution are so commonly overlooked that it is particularly necessary to stress them. First of all, there was Iyeyasu's fear as to his position at the head of the government. It is exceedingly important to note that when edicts were promulgated forbidding the circulation of Christian literature, precisely similar edicts forbade the distribution of literature touching upon the affairs of the house of Toyotomi (Hideyoshi) or upon those of the Emperor. In the second place, Iyeyasu was undoubtedly exceedingly sensitive as to the possibly political aims of the foreign friars. Even the procession in Nagasaki in celebration of the beatification of Loyola seemed to him to smack of foreign aggression. With the opposition of the Shogun to Spanish and Portuguese as ambitious foreigners so bound up with his dislike for a foreign religion that the one seemed hardly separable from the other, it is easier to understand the policy of persecution which Iyeyasu sanctioned in the last years of his life. The general situation is remarkably well illustrated in the account given of the affair of the *Madre de Dios,* sunk in the harbor of Nagasaki, under instructions from the Shogun, in 1609.

So it came to pass that Christianity, described in the "Legacy" as an "evil Faith," *ja kyo,* or as "a false and corrupt school," was formally disallowed by the edict of 1614. Measures must have been taken even earlier, since we find Will Adams writing to Spalding: "In the year 1612 is put down all the sects of Franciscans." He states further that eighty-six churches and houses of the Jesuits were razed. The deportation of all foreign teachers was ordered and by the same edict the native converts were banished to the north. Some remained in hiding, but the persecution inaugurated was on such a scale and so searching and far-reaching that few escaped. Murdoch asserts that no European missionary was put to death until 1617, after Iyeyasu's death, and that the priests then executed were beheaded, like Japanese gentlemen, which may have been some consolation. Yet there can be no doubt that the ruthless attempt to exterminate the faith which was carried out by Iyeyasu's successor was based upon the "Christian inquiry" inaugurated by Iyeyasu himself and stimulated by the rewards he caused to be offered for the betrayal of converts.

The continuation of this tragic, heroic story we must leave to a later page, but it is doing no injustice to Iyeyasu to place upon his shoulders the main responsibility for one of the most terrible religious persecutions of all time.

Expulsion of the Portuguese

For many years after the discovery of the islands the Portuguese did, in a commercial way, exceedingly well. Kaempfer's remark on "a certain natural resemblance" between Portuguese and Japanese is made to explain the ease with which trading operations were carried on. The daimyo competed with one another for the advantage of receiving the merchant ships; the Portuguese married the daughters of the richest inhabitants. With Macao as a convenient base for their trading expeditions, the gain was at least cent per cent. The Portuguese affirmed that the profits of Oriental trade for some years provided the whole Crown Revenues of the kingdom, and they boasted that twenty years more would have made Macao like Jerusalem in the days of Solomon, a place where silver was nothing accounted of. The fall of the Portuguese was due to the disillusionment of the Japanese with regard to the friars and to the slowly gathering opposition of the officials to Christianity itself. The Dutch and English claimed that they were able to provide all the trading advantages secured by the presence of the Portuguese without interference with the native religion. Letters captured on a Portuguese ship, which were subsequently proved to be forgeries, appeared to confirm the reports of political conspiracy retailed by the Hollanders.

Then came the order of Iyeyasu to the daimyo of Arima to destroy the *Madre de Dios* and, after a terrific fight in the harbor of Nagasaki, the gallant captain blew up his ship. Together with it and its crew, many hundreds of the Japanese assailants were hurled to death. So at last, if we may anticipate by a few years, came the edict of 1637, with the special provision that "the whole race of the Portuguese, with their mothers, nurses, and whatever belongs to them, shall be banished to Macao." The measures taken for this deportation were adequate and soon after 1639 a complete end was made of the Portuguese exploitation of Japan, which had begun so auspiciously and had continued for something less than a century. The last episode is one of mingled tragedy and pathos. In 1640, four noble Portuguese, "wise, virtuous, and prudent men," came as an embassy from Macao. They were immediately marched in bonds to the "Mount of Martyrs" and there beheaded with their retinue. Portuguese influence was from henceforth only to be remembered by the retention of a few words, such as the terms for soap, towel, clock, cards, glass, cake, and the like. The claim that there was also influence exerted upon architecture and the theater has not been substantiated.

Development of Dutch trade

When Philip II of Spain and Portugal in 1594 closed the port of Lisbon to the Dutch he was unwittingly preparing, after the manner of the selfish everywhere, for the overthrow of his own trade with the Orient. The Dutchmen were already eager for independent venture, and when *Jan Huygen van Linschoten,* who had been for many years a kind of literary factotum to the Dominican Archbishop of Goa, wrote in 1595 his famous *Itinerario,* a way was shown for breaking down the monopoly of the peninsula traders. Then came the experiment of Cornelius de Houtman, "a cunning trader and commercial diplomatist who had spent four years in Lisbon trying to discover the secrets of Indian navigation." [1] Using his experience as a pilot, he inaugurated so lucrative a venture that in a very short time six companies were formed and, in 1598, twenty-two ships left for the Indies. One of these was *De Liefde* ('The Charity'), sole survivor of "a fleet of five sayle" which had had harrowing experiences on the American coast with Indians. Of the English pilot of this pioneer in the Dutch trade with Japan we shall have presently to speak. The ship reached the archipelago on March 24, 1600.

The first Dutch factory was at *Hirado* (Firando), where the daimyo was the more disposed to welcome them since he had quarreled with the Jesuits. Letters patent for free commerce were issued in 1601 by Iyeyasu who himself derived revenue from the foreign trade and was at this time greatly interested in its extension. The newcomers were bitterly opposed by the Portuguese, who regarded them as rebels and pirates, but the Hollanders, with time playing into their hands, were both willing and able to retaliate. At the same time they pushed their fortunes shrewdly and let no opportunity slip for wooing the interest of the islanders. They imported all kinds of monsters and curious animals; nothing was too whimsical or ridiculous, so long as it attracted the curiosity of the Japanese. Nevertheless, with all their practicality and shrewdness, they too made mistakes. One was the request, after the death of Iyeyasu, for a renewal of their letters patent. This the Japanese considered unnecessary and a reflection on their good faith. So the letters were granted, but on less advantageous conditions. Later on we shall see the limitations of the Dutch trade still more strongly marked, but that is a story belonging to a future chapter.

As one travels from Tokyo to Kamakura, something more than halfway one comes to Yokosuka, interesting for many things, but to foreigners especially as the burial place of the first Englishman who ever resided in Japan.

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[1] Hendrik Van Loon, *The Golden Book of the Dutch Navigators*, pp. 99 ff.

Will Adams

Will Adams was born at Gillingham, in Kent, in the spacious days of Queen Elizabeth. In 1598, he took service with the Hollanders as "Pilot Maior of a fleete of five sayle."[2] After leaving Spanish America the *Charity* was separated by storm from the other vessels and came on to Japan, reaching the neighborhood of Nagasaki on the nineteenth of April. Adams remained in Japan till his death in 1620, and, as mentioned above, lies buried at Yokosuka. Although privately slandered to Iyeyasu "by the Jesuits and the Portingalls," he secured the ear and favor of the future Shogun, became shipbuilder, diplomatic agent, and trusted adviser to the government, and was eventually given a high position with lands at Hemi, retainers, and a Japanese wife. A son and daughter were born to him in the land of his exile and henceforth his affection was divided between the land and family he had left behind and that to which fate had brought him. His letters, printed in the papers of the Hakluyt Society, reveal a man of the genuinely Elizabethan mold. The whole romantic story of the English seaman as familiar with the Indies as with Limehouse and the Docks, one who may very well have seen Shakespeare and Ben Jonson, still awaits the hand of the dramatist and the novelist, though a Japanese sketch on the subject was performed before Prince Arthur of Connaught on his visit to Japan in 1906.[3]

Adams had a good deal to do with the establishment of the English factory, though it was against his advice that it was placed at Hirado. He was never allowed to revisit his native land though his tombstone looks out across the ocean. In the capital, a street, *Anjin Cho* ('Pilot Street') perpetuates his memory. It is stated that there is an annual celebration in his honor on June 15. Adams' "last will and testament" remains the property of the India Office in London.

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[2] For the letters of Will Adams, see *Hakluyt Papers;* also Douglas Sladen, *More Queer Things About Japan,* pp. 209-293.

[3] Lord Redesdale, *The Garter Mission to Japan,* pp. 76 ff.

The English factory at Hirado

There are few more striking illustrations in history of the power of a single individual to alter permanently the currents of the human story than the failure of the English factory at Hirado through the obstinacy of *Sir John Saris.*[4]

In 1599, the Dutch, having gained control of the spice trade of the Orient, raised the price of pepper from three to six and eight shillings per pound. Much moved thereat, the London merchants assembled in conclave, with the Lord Mayor in the chair, and agreed to form a company to contest the monopoly of the Hollanders. So was created the London East India Company, which was incorporated on December 31, 1600. At first very little enterprise was shown. Englishmen continued to serve as pilots on Dutch vessels. Although Lancaster's voyage yielded 100 per cent profit, so little energy was displayed by the company that the government took upon itself to send Sir Edward Michelborne to trade with "Cathaia, China, Japan, Corea, and Cambaia, notwithstanding any grant or charter to the contrary." It was on this voyage, on December 27, 1605, that John Davys, after whom is named the strait between America and Greenland, lost his life in an affray with Japanese pirates near Singapore. This was the first conflict of Japanese with the West. But, at last, in 1610, the *Clove,* under Captain John Saris, was fitted out, and all too late the English Company began its venture in Japan. When Saris reached Bantam, he was encouraged by news from Will Adams to the effect that "the Emperor" (i.e., Iyeyasu) had heard of the likelihood of seeing English ships. "At which hee was veery glad and rejoyced that strange nacions had such good oppinion." Arrived at Hirado, Saris, accompanied by Adams, proceeded to interview Iyeyasu. Now the Shogun was exceedingly anxious to encourage foreign trade, but he was by no means desirous of strengthening and enriching the southern daimyo (largely supporters of Hideyori) by permitting them the monopoly of the business. Could he but have the ships in the neighborhood of his capital, Yedo, nothing would suit him better than to have the vessels come. So he offered Saris privileges of trade which, had they been accepted, would probably have saved Japan from her long period of segregation and so changed the whole history of the Orient. The main provisions of the agreement of October 1, 1613, were as follows:

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[4] Dr. Ludwig Riess, "The History of the English Factory at Hirado," *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan,* Vol. XXVI; also H. H. Gowen, "The Tercentenary of a Great Failure," *Washington Historical Quarterly,* January, 1924.

1. The *Clove* might carry on trade of all kinds without hindrance, while subsequent visits of English ships would be similarly welcomed.
2. Ships might visit any ports in Japan they chose and in case of storms, put into any harbor.
3. Ground would be given in Yedo for the erection of factories and houses and, in event of the return of the factors to England, they were permitted to dispose of the buildings in any way they wished.
4. If any Englishman committed an offense on Japanese soil, he should be punished by the English general "according to the gravity of his offense."

The reader will note not only the offer of extraterritoriality to English offenders but also the extraordinary liberality of the privileges granted as compared with the belated concessions to Perry in 1854.

Now English obstinacy has often in history proved valuable to the plans and purposes of the race, but in the case of Saris we encounter an obstinacy the results of which turned out tragically. Saris evidently was, as Brinkley describes him, "self-opinionated, suspicious and of shallow judgment." Moreover, he despised Adams, of whom he wrote, "He is only fit to be master of a junk." Worst of all, he did not see that the Dutchmen who advised his staying at Hirado were playing a game of their own. They lowered their own prices in order to make competition impossible and so made the English factory a failure from the start. It struggled on for ten disappointing years, sometimes even associating with the Dutch in filibustering expeditions. At length, in 1623, the agents were ordered to withdraw. "At noon of the 24th of December, 1623, the Bull set sail for Batavia. The English factory at Hirado was a thing of the past," and the curtain was rung down upon the story of a great opportunity rendered "frustrate and vagabond" by one man's wilfulness. Half a century later, an attempt was made by King Charles II to reopen intercourse with the Shogun, but it was sufficient for the Dutch to impart the information that the English monarch had married a Portuguese princess to secure an order for the immediate withdrawal of the ships.

Iyeyasu and Hideyori

While encouraging trade with foreign lands, Iyeyasu was not unmindful of certain potential dangers within the Empire itself. The Emperors at Kyoto constituted but a negligible menace to the security of his control. In view of this the Shogun contented himself with the erection of a palace for himself at the capital whence he might observe carefully the movements of the court. The traveler of to-day passing from the splendid decoration of the Imperial Palace at Kyoto over to the Nijo, or palace of Iyeyasu, with its definitely military character, will have at a glance a comparison of the imperial and the Shogunal status at the time. By increasing the the royal revenues and by paying all due deference to the sanctity of the throne, he was the better able to consolidate his sway over material things.

In another direction, however, Iyeyasu scented a more real danger. This was at *Osaka,* where the great Cyclopean fortress with its ramcurved walls fenced Hideyori and his friends from the dictator's will. Sir John Saris saw the castle and described it as "marvellously large and strong, with very deep trenches about it and many drawbridges, with gates plated with iron. . . . The walls are at least six to seven feet thick, all of solid stone." Here lived the dispossessed son of Hideyoshi, with his energetic and high-spirited mother, the Lady Yodo. For some time Iyeyasu considered him of too tender an age to be regarded with apprehension. But the years had been passing and there were nobles and warriors not a few, such, for example, as the veteran, Kato Kiyomasa, who were only awaiting Hideyori's coming of age to test the sincerity and disinterestedness of the Tokugawa. But in 1605, Iyeyasu plainly intimated that he had no intention of surrendering the powers of the Shogunate to any outside his own family. So he ostentatiously resigned the office to his son, *Hidetada,* while continuing without abatement his own active administration of the same. It was a kind of gesture by which, without losing control of state affairs, he might step aside for awhile to admire the working of the machine he had constructed. During these years he made several efforts to secure the presence of Hideyori at Kyoto. When the youth at length overcame his reluctance and visited the capital, his quondam guardian was much struck by his dignity and sagacity. It is to be feared that from that moment the fate of the house of Toyotomi was sealed. Iyeyasu did everything possible to secure his ultimate object by means other than war. Some of these were not particularly creditable. The castle of Osaka was filled with spies and with women, in order that the environment of Hideyoshi's heir might be as luxuriously effeminate and demoralizing as that of the Emperors. Iyeyasu strove to ruin the house of his rival by forcing upon it extravagant expenditures. He had used this method with success in other cases, as when he built the great castle of Nagoya with the double idea of possessing a splendid palace and of impoverishing the daimyo. So he requested of Hideyori the building of a Daibutsu and a temple. Then when the temple and the image were finished, the casting of the great bell had to be undertaken, and it was the inscription upon this bell which became at last the *casus belli.* It is quite certain that there was no veiled insinuation against the Tokugawa in the innocent ideographs. The inscription was *Kokka Anko,* which means, "May the State have Peace and Tranquility." But suborned priests were found to swear that in these innocent ideographs there lurked a cryptic reference to Iyeyasu and an intimation that he was to Hideyori as the waning moon to the rising sun. The wolf in the fable was not more certain of the guilt of the lamb. The absurd demand was made that Hideyori should leave the castle of Osaka and acknowledge himself a vassal of the Tokugawas, or that the Lady Yodo should henceforth live in Yedo as a hostage. Delay in answering these unreasonable conditions brought about the first attack upon the castle. Then, upon his repulse, Iyeyasu opened up insincere negotiations for peace, in which he took oath by drawing blood from his ear instead of, as was proper, from his gums. Peace was sought simply that the ex-Shogun's proposal might be carried out to level the parapet of the mighty castle and fill up the surrounding moat, as an act of politeness to Iyeyasu. After the fortress had been thus dismantled, there was, of course, so much the less risk in resuming the war. So what is known as the Summer Campaign was launched and in this Iyeyasu's purposes were abetted by every kind of intrigue carried on from within the stronghold. The hopelessness of Hideyori's position, assailed both from within and without, was soon plain even to himself. But even yet the defense was vigorous enough to make Iyeyasu feel at times the risks of the siege. On one occasion he is said to have given up all hope and to have asked one of his guard to be ready to decapitate him. Numbers, however, at length prevailed and with the castle on fire, the unfortunate son of Taiko Sama realized that no alternative remained but seppuku. The determination of the unscrupulous victor to exterminate the whole house is shown by the fact that even an illegitimate child of Hideyori, about six or eight years old, was hunted down and slain after the capture of the castle. "And so fell Osaka castle and so was the house of Toyotomi destroyed."

Iyeyasu's administration

Hideyoshi, after the crushing of his enemies, had thought of no better plan than to keep those who distrusted him employed in foreign lands. Iyeyasu, on the other hand, to ensure his own maintenance of power, set himself earnestly to work for the consolidation of his gains by erasing, as far as was possible, the scars of war and by creating an administrative machine such as might survive even the weakness of his least capable successors.

The principles of Iyeyasu's government are set forth in what is known as the "Legacy of Iyeyasu," though this famous document was in all probability penned by some Chinese scholar fully a century after the first Tokugawa Shogun had been gathered to his fathers. As passed on from Shogun to Shogun the Legacy contained a hundred sections, of which fifty-five are connected with politics and administration, twenty-two refer to matters of law, while seven relate to certain episodes in the life of Iyeyasu. Whatever its date and authority, the code reflects accurately enough the principles by means of which the Tokugawa Shogunate established and maintained itself. Porter declares that "the Pharaohs, Diocletian, the Byzantine Emperors and Louis XIV never framed more effective measures for securing their power than Iyeyasu." [5]

Iyeyasu's administration, in the first place, secured him much more independence of Kyoto than had been enjoyed by the Kamakura Bakufu. The attitude of the Shogun towards the Emperor must be always one of reverential homage, but at the same time little vestige of real power was left to the sacrosanct descendant of the Sun Goddess. A Resident of Kyoto and a Governor at Osaka, representing the Shogun, curtailed whatever initiative the earlier Emperors had possessed. The prohibition of "progresses" by the Emperor to the national shrines kept him severely to the Kyoto palaces. Even the edict forbidding intermarriage between the kuge, or court families, and the feudal families, made the capital more and more isolated from the real instrument of government. Iyeyasu himself broke the rule, in his own interest, by arranging a marriage between his granddaughter and the heir to the throne.

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[5] For a detailed account of Iyeyasu's administrative system, *see* James Murdoch, *History of Japan*, Vol. III, Chap. I.

With regard to the feudal chiefs, Iyeyasu made arrangements similarly increasing his power. All the hereditary vassals of the Tokugawa family, who had been on Iyeyasu's side prior to the fall of Osaka, were put into a special class of daimyo known as *Fudai.* The others, of equal rank, but not hereditary vassals, were called *Tozama.* The lands of these two classes were so redistributed that no possible combination of Tozama could be formed hostile to the interests of the Shogun. Two other classes or feudal groups also made their appearance at this time, though the names are older. These were the *Hatamoto* ('Bannermen') special samurai responsible immediately to the Bakufu, and the *Gokenin* ('landed gentry'). All the daimyo were nicely graded according to the amount of rice produced on their estate, the smallest amount for a daimyo to have to his credit being ten thousand koku. The daimyo were kept sufficiently subordinate to the Shogun by such expedients as an annual term of residence at Yedo, the provision of hostages at other times of the year, and the requirement of costly presents, visits, and schemes of building. Governors appointed by the Shogun administered the domains of Iyeyasu, which amounted to about a third of the country. In the rest of the Empire, though the feudal lords were the administrators, a special class of traveling officials, known as *Metsuke,* played the part of inspecting and spying upon the doings of the clans.

Beneath the samurai, by which we mean all the warriors from the Shogun down to the *hanshi* ('retainers'), were the farmers, artisans and merchants, in the order named, while beneath all these were the *eta* ('outcasts'). Local government was based on the grouping of five families, as in other Oriental communities, under a headman. It was probably introduced from China in the early days. What we might call the Central Government consisted of an upper and a lower Council of State, the members of which were chosen from the Fudai nobles. There was also generally an inner circle of statesmen and place was given to the Superintendent of the Buddhist and Shinto shrines.

Altogether the Tokugawa machine was wondrously strong and efficient, and it is easy to see that with the years it became increasingly difficult to break it. Moreover, it was so constructed as to grind exceedingly small, since by a series of sumptuary laws of almost incredible meticulousness everything in the life of man was regulated by authority. The perfecting of this complex instrument of tyranny occupied the last years of Iyeyasu's life, together with the encouragement of learning and the printing and collecting of books.

Death of Iyeyasu

It was a common saying that Nobunaga had mixed the dough, Hideyoshi had baked the cake, and that it was left to Iyeyasu to eat it. His part in this feast, however, was not destined to be much prolonged. The wounds he had received in the siege of Osaka castle had never healed; the wounds of age were more serious still, for he was seventy-three years old. So it came to pass that on June 1, 1616, a few days after William Shakespeare had breathed his last on the other side of the planet, the great Tokugawa passed to his rest.

He had expressed a wish to sleep his last sleep at *Nikko* and here his successor, Hidetada, prepared the shrine and mausoleum to which, in 1617, the remains (according to some, nothing but a hair of his head) were transferred from Kuno. The tomb was in no way imposing, in accordance with the ex-Shogun's frugal desire, but afterwards, by his grandson, Iyemitsu, it was made so extraordinarily magnificent that travelers from all over the world stand in wonder before the place.

Opinions have differed as to whether one sees Nikko best amid the cherry blossoms of spring, or the gorgeous maples of the autumn, or the powdery snow upon the cryptomeria of the winter. At any time it is beyond description, and even more than Iyemitsu one envies the poor daimyo who could contribute nothing but the planting of an avenue of cryptomeria. He could have had no idea of the distant beauty of his gift. It is with a kind of pain that one tears oneself away from the general effect to the study of splendid detail of lacquer of gold and scarlet and black, but with a kind of relief that one leaves all this to climb the two hundred steps which lead upward to the tomb itself. What a beautiful resting place for the greatest of the Tokugawa! Where on earth is there another couch for human dust more impressive than here among the waving of giant trees and the plashing of cataracts reduced to falling mist, and to which the genius of the artist has brought its noblest gifts?

Few will deny Iyeyasu's claim to the application of the familiar lines:

> Here's the top-peak; the multitude below
>   Live, for they can, there:
> This man decided not to Live but Know—
>   Bury this man there?
> Here—Here's his place, where meteors shoot, clouds form,
>   Lightnings are loosened,
> Stars come and go! Let joy break with the storm,
>   Peace let the dew send!

Lofty designs must close in like effects:
  Loftily lying
Leave him—still loftier than the world suspects,
  Living and dying.

Iyeyasu's courage and astuteness dominated not only the period of his own life but also that of the two centuries and more which followed. In his person he was by no means prepossessing, nor was he without many an unlovely trait of character. "A miserly man, writing a bad hand, he had an ugly mien," says the *Yeiya Meiwa*. But the writer adds: "When he gave commands on the battle-field, or when hawking, he looked like a veritable war-god and his voice was then heard to a distance of seventeen or eighteen cho." Iyeyasu's countrymen regard him as a god, and as *Gongen Sama* he is reverenced in his sumptuous shrine—"Noble of the First Degree of the First Rank, Great Light of the East, Great Incarnation of Buddha."

CHAPTER XX

THE FIRST SUCCESSORS OF IYEYASU (1605-1651)

The Tokugawa Shoguns

It is a generally held opinion that, since the period of the Tokugawa Shogunate was one of isolation from the rest of the world, it was, therefore, a period of stagnation. This is far from being the case. While we might readily discuss the advantages which in all probability Japan forfeited through her long seclusion, it is quite clear that seclusion is not in this case equivalent to lack of progress. In the first place, it must be noted that the period is one of practically unbroken peace. To those who think of Japan as naturally belligerent and aggressive it should come reassuringly that in less than fifty years the Empire was transformed from a medley of warring clans into a peaceful and peace-loving state. It is true that there was still plenty of fighting spirit in the south, and in the northern part of the main island; also that peace was preserved through the efforts of an extraordinarily vigilant military feudalism. But the fact remains that peace was established and that this *pax Tokugawana* was maintained down to a time subsequent to the first treaties with the United States. In the second place, these two centuries were centuries of cultural progress. Education was improved and extended; books were printed and circulated in large numbers; art was cultivated over a wide range. The Tokugawa period, if in any sense an era of winter sleep, was, nevertheless, a real preparation for the new Japan which was to have its springtide in the age of Meiji.

The Tokugawa Shoguns, fifteen in all, carried out in the main the policy laid down by the founder of the line. The greatest of them, next to Iyeyasu, were the third, *Iyemitsu,* and the eighth, *Yoshimune.* Murdoch regards the last named as "the most respectable of the whole fourteen successors of Iyeyasu." The majority simply followed along the channels created from the beginning. It is not too much to say, with Murdoch, that what really governed Japan for the next two centuries was not so much one or another of Iyeyasu's commonplace successors as the system itself. "Government by the Abacus" became the rule. There were only a few clashes between Kyoto and Yedo and these were of small importance. Indeed the two systems drifted so far apart that in Iyemitsu's time envoys had to be sent to the Emperor's court to take a course in the kuge etiquette. The conflict in the time of Hidetada was over certain irregularities in the imperial household. That of Iyemitsu's time was over the irregular promotion by the Emperor of certain Buddhist court chaplains. Regarded as a whole, the period was one of great and general prosperity, a period in which, as we have seen, Japan advanced notably in the cultivation of the arts and of learning. Yet the seeds of dissolution were very early planted by the Tokugawas themselves, and the Revolution of 1867 would certainly have come about even without the "black ships" of Commodore Perry. We may think that the Tokugawas made a mistake in conniving at Japan's long breach with her earlier history, but there must always be felt a certain reverence for the strong-willed clan which guided for so long the destinies of the Island Empire. Of the Tokugawas who died prior to the Revolution, six lie in the necropolis at Uyeno, six at Shiba, and two at Nikko.

Hidetada

The second Tokugawa Shogun, son and successor of Iyeyasu, was born in 1579 and had been his father's second in command at the battle of Sekigahara, though he arrived too late on the scene to render any effective service. He succeeded to the Shogunate on Iyeyasu's abdication in 1605, but exercised little authority until after his father's death in 1616. From that date till 1623 Hidetada ruled personally and with a good deal of judgment. Then he too retired in favor of his son, Iyemitsu, merely to use the opportunity during the next ten years of exercising control over the affairs of state without the responsibilities of office. He was not, like his predecessor at the helm, a great warrior, as his tardy participation in the battle of Sekigahara would suggest, but his rule generally, the Christian persecution excepted, was characterized by justice and moderation. Murdoch describes Hidetada as "a hard, painstaking, conscientious plodder." The work for which he is best known is the building of the great castle of Yedo, now the imperial residence. Some writers have said that, so far as magnitude is concerned, this is comparable with the erection of the pyramids. But the principal interest of the reign is of a more tragic kind, since under the orders of Hidetada was launched one of the most ruthless religious persecutions the world has ever known.

The Christian persecution

Less than six months after the death of Iyeyasu a new edict was issued against the Christian religion in which the penalty of death was expressly stated. The threat had no terror, however, for the friars, whether you regard them as fanatics or as heroes. Undeterred by the fate of others, the Vice-Provincial of the Dominican and Augustinian missionaries came out from their hiding places and suffered decapitation. The populace, too, so far from being terrorized, were filled with admiration at a courage greater even than that of their own samurai. Many converts were made and went willingly to death. An old woman of ninety and a child a year old shared a common fate. Miracles were reported at the coffins of the martyrs. An old Franciscan priest, Father Juan de Santa Martha, who had already suffered extremes of torture, was brought to the block in 1618 and his body cut into little pieces. Soon after came "the Great Martyrdom of Nagasaki" in which a large addition was made to "the noble army of martyrs." Mr. Gubbins gives the following general summary of the persecution:

> We read of Christians being executed in a barbarous manner in sight of each other, of their being hurled from the tops of precipices, of their being buried alive, of their being torn asunder by oxen, of their being tied up in rice-bags, which were heaped up together, and of the pile thus formed being set on fire. Others were tortured before death by the insertion of sharp spikes under the nails of their hands and feet, while some poor wretches, by a refinement of horrid cruelty were shut up in cages and there left to starve with food before their eyes. Let it not be supposed that we have drawn on the Jesuit accounts solely for this information. An examination of the Japanese records will show that the case is not overstated.[1]

Even more horrors were to be experienced in the succeeding rule of Iyemitsu.

Intimately connected with the effort to suppress Christianity was the inauguration of a policy for the restriction of trade. In 1617, foreign commerce was confined to the two ports of Hirado and Nagasaki. In 1621, Japanese themselves were prohibited from leaving the islands and in 1624, all ships with a capacity of over 2,500 bushels were ordered burned. From this time onwards it was lawful to build only small coasting junks. The consummation of this policy also was destined to be witnessed in the ensuing reign.

Iyemitsu

Estimates of the third Tokugawa Shogun vary greatly. Some regard him as the very greatest of Iyeyasu's descendants; others speak of him as "a carpet knight" and as "without genius." It would, however, seem fair to concede that he left a distinct impress upon the Tokugawa administrative machine. Born in 1603, he succeeded his father nominally in 1623, actually in 1632, and held the office till his death in 1651. There was no question as to the significance of his policy. Twice he had occasion to make a demonstration against Kyoto, as a warning to those concerned, and, when he called the feudal chiefs before him, in Yedo, he said bluntly: "It is my purpose to treat you all without distinction as my hereditary vassals." He caused them all at the same time to swear allegiance by drawing blood from the third finger of the left hand. The system of alternate residence, by which every daimyo lived for half the year at Yedo, leaving behind him for the remaining months hostages from among his wives and children, was now regularly enforced.

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[1] *See Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan,* Vol. VI, Part 1, p. 35.

Iyemitsu was the first Shogun to employ the title of *Tai-kun* (Tycoon), using it in a letter to the Korean envoys. To such displays of pride he was particularly prone. Yet the realm generally prospered under his sway. Yedo, enlarged by the residence of the daimyo and their families, was much improved. Aqueducts were built, five look-outs established, and bells hung to intimate by signal the locality of a conflagration. In addition, the great shrine at Nikko was erected, mints established for coinage, and a survey of the entire Empire carried out. When Iyemitsu was upon his deathbed he suggested to his Prime Minister the propriety of observing the old custom of *junshi* ('following in death'). Hotta obeyed with a number of his retainers; others who declined the invitation to follow their master to the Yellow Springs were much criticized. The *coup de grace* to the custom was not administered till the time of Iyetsuna, in 1668. The third Tokugawa Shogun, like his grandfather, lies buried at Nikko, somewhat lower, but in almost equal splendor.

The Christian inquisition

The persecution inaugurated by Hidetada was continued more and more systematically and relentlessly under Iyemitsu. Fresh edicts were issued in 1624, 1633, 1634, and 1637 by the Shogun's orders. The Inquisitor, or Christian bugyo, did his work with frightful efficiency. It is stated, though the number is probably exaggerated, that as many as 280,000 persons suffered up to 1635. Iyemitsu required of every daimyo a definite profession of Buddhism and of every temple an accurate roll of its parishioners. Every person in the Empire was supposed to be enrolled in one or other of these temples. No government ever devised more atrocious methods of compelling recantation. The *kosatsu* ('notice boards') everywhere warned against the "evil religion" and offered rewards for the betrayal of its professors. The ceremony of *ebumi* (literally 'picture-trampling'), in which the inmates of every house were forced to trample upon a picture of Christ and the Virgin Mary, was used systematically. Tortures and horrible forms of death, such as the torment of the *fosse*,[2] were common everywhere. So persistent and thorough was this attempt to exterminate the faith that Mr. W. E. H. Lecky, cites it as at least one instance of a persecution which apparently achieved its end.

Yet this was far from being the case. Many converts succeeded, in spite of everything, in handing down to later generations the tradition of their creed. March 17, 1865, is now observed by Roman Catholics as a feast under the name of "The Finding of the Christians" because of the discovery on that date of many (eventually numbering 2,500) in the neighborhood of Nagasaki who had kept the faith. A large proportion of the Roman Catholic Christians of Japan are still to be found in the districts evangelized by Xavier and his successors. Moreover, the steadfastness of the Japanese Christians in the days of persecution was marvelous and the number of apostasies exceedingly small. The Dutch trader, Caron, testifies:

> The number of Christians was not perceptibly lessened by these cruel punishments, they became tired of putting them to death and attempts were then made to make the Christians abandon their faith by the infliction of the most dreadful torments

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[2] J. H. Longford, *Story of Old Japan*, pp. 264 ff.

which the most diabolical invention could suggest. The Japanese Christians, however, endured these persecutions with steadiness and courage; very few, in comparison with those who remained steadfast in the faith, were the number of those who fainted under the trials and abjured their religion.

The Shimabara revolt

The persecution culminated in the district of Shimabara, though the great revolt, which taxed for its suppression the resources of the Bakufu for a hundred days, actually came "like a veritable bolt out of the blue." Goaded not only by the persecuting fury of the enemy but by an extortionate system of taxation, the people of Shimabara rose in rebellion. Saito says that the leader was Masuda Tokisada, a hereditary foe of the Tokugawas. To gain support from the people he is said to have claimed divine aid and the power of working miracles. By means of the influence thus gained he conquered Amakusa, murdered the Governor of Shimabara, and shut himself up with 33,000 persons (including 13,000 women and children) in the castle of that place. Here they withstood a violent siege till April 12, 1638. As the Japanese guns were unequal to the task of breaching the walls, Dutch assistance was asked and Koeckerbecker, head of the Dutch factory, came, apparently without reluctance. Mr. Longford says: "To his own eternal infamy, to the everlasting dishonor of his country, he not only sent his greatest and most powerfully armed ships to Shimabara, which lay on the sea, safe against any ships that the Japanese possessed, but went in command himself."[3] The Dutchman's excuse was that, according to instructions, "he was to save at any price the commerce with Japan." When at length the castle fell, there was an indiscriminate massacre, only a handful being spared. The leaders were crucified, decapitated, or else compelled to commit seppuku. Still along the gulf at nightfall the pale red globes like colored bubbles, drifting up and down the tide, really the light from countless animalcules, are known as the "souls of Christian martyrs." Not all Dutchmen approved the help given to the Shogun by the factory. Dr. Kaempfer, the Dutch historian, comments as follows:

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[3] Longford, *op. cit.*, p. 272.

> By this submissive readiness to assist the Emperor in the execution of his designs, with regard to the final extinction of Christianity in his dominions, 'tis true indeed that we stood our ground so far as to maintain ourselves in the country and to be permitted to carry on our trade, although the court had then some thoughts of a total exclusion of all foreigners whatever. But many generous and noble persons, at court and in the Empire, judg'd quite otherwise of our conduct and not too favorably for the credit we had thereby endeavored to gain.[4]

The Dutch at Deshima

When the Portuguese, in 1613, tried to get the Hollanders expelled from Japan, the Shogun wrote as follows: "If the Dutchmen were as black as the devils that come out of hell, while they behaved honestly in their trade and minded nothing but trade, they would be treated in Japan like angels come from Paradise."

Somewhat smirched angels they must have appeared, but, at the sacrifice of accepting very humiliating conditions, the Dutchmen did secure the much coveted exemption from deportation which was the fate of the peninsula merchants. But it was also clear that they were under an extreme form of surveillance. In 1638, they were ordered to demolish the warehouses at Hirado on the pretext that they were too solid and handsome, having been erected of stone. The sign of the cross, too, suggested by the date A.D. on the front, had to be obliterated. The Dutch share in putting down the Shimabara revolt was not after all regarded as entitling the merchants to special consideration. As the Dutch historian somewhat naïvely remarks: "The better we deserved of them, the more they seemed to hate and despise us."

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[4] Engelbert Kaempfer, *History of Japan,* II, 173.

So it came to pass that in 1641 the traders were forced to accept for a residence the little island in the harbor of Nagasaki, called *Deshima,* just two hundred yards long by eighty wide. It had already been connected by a causeway with the mainland in anticipation of its occupation by the Portuguese. Here the Hollanders found at once their commercial foothold and their prison. They were allowed to emerge only once a year for the purpose of making a ceremonial visit, with presents, to the Shogun. Kaempfer says:

> So great was the alluring power of Japanese gold, that rather than quit the advantage of a trade, indeed most advantageous, they willingly underwent an almost perpetual imprisonment, for such in fact is our stay in Deshima, and chose to suffer many hardships in a foreign and heathen country, to be remiss in performing divine service on Sundays and solemn festivals, to leave off praying and singing psalms in publick, entirely to avoid the sign of the cross, the calling upon Christ in the presence of the natives, and all outward marks of Christianity, and lastly, patiently and submissively to bear the abusive and injurious behavior of these proud Infidels towards us, than which nothing can be offered more shocking to a generous and noble mind.[5]

The policy of exclusion

Iyemitsu's edict in 1639 ran as follows: "For the future, let none, so long as the Sun illuminates the world, presume to sail to Japan, not even in the quality of ambassadors, and this declaration is never to be revoked on pain of death." So falls the curtain upon Japan for the space of two centuries. At the very time when the English East India Company was considering suggestions from Hawley, Bix, Muschamp, and Steele, their agents in the Orient, to send men to Japan "to show our manner of chivalry," the door of opportunity which had stood open so invitingly to Saris was being closed and bolted. While forecasting an era when "will undoubtedly ensue that inestimable treasure by the trade of Japan that all the world may dread the state of Great Britain, for it is not only the purchase of China but all India will be at the beck of England," the course of events was being inexorably shaped towards the complete exclusion of English shipping for more than two centuries. As for the Dutch ships, restricted first to seven and eventually to one a year, they were unable to do more than preserve to Europe the knowledge that the Empire of the Rising Sun still existed. It is interesting to note, too, that during the Napoleonic wars, from 1811 to 1815, after the capture of Batavia by the English, Deshima was the only spot on earth where the Dutch flag was still permitted to fly.

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[5] *Ibid.,* p. 174.

Japan had willed an era of absolute segregation. The Sun Goddess, Amaterasu, had once again withdrawn within her cavern. All trade, even that with the Philippines, with Annam, Siam, and China,[6] was definitely limited. Nor were Japanese sailors, driven by storms or ocean currents from the islands, permitted to return. The shellfish had resolved to guard itself against the fisherman's net spread over eastern seas, by closing tight its shell to the outside world. The consequences of such a policy, for good or for evil, we must now endeavor to trace.

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[6] From 1684 to 1687 Chinese junks were admitted to trade with Nagasaki to the number of seventy annually; this number was reduced to thirteen by the New Nagasaki Trade Rules of 1711.

CHAPTER XXI

IYETSUNA TO IYETSUGU (1651-1716)

Iyetsuna
(1651-1680)

Iyetsuna was the son of Iyemitsu by a secondary wife, the late Shogun's lawful wife having borne him no children. He was born in 1642 and so was only a child when called upon to succeed as Shogun. Partly as taking advantage of his minority and partly by way of reviving some of the old anti-Tokugawa sentiment, there were in the first years of the new reign several serious mutterings of revolt. What is known as the *Great Ronin Conspiracy* of 1651 had indeed been plotted under Iyemitsu and but for a chapter of fortunate accidents might have proved successful. The most active leader was a remarkable man, one *Yui-no-Shosetsu,* and his plan was to burn Yedo and in the confusion secure the destruction of the Bakufu. When the conspiracy was discovered Yui committed suicide and other leaders were captured, tortured and crucified. An attempt was made to throw the blame upon the "Christian scum," but there seems no ground for such a charge.

It might seem quite a work of supererogation to destroy Yedo by arson, since, apparently by sheer accident, Yedo was in two successive years at about this time swept by terrific conflagrations. In the former of these, in 1657, over 100,000 persons are said to have perished. These fires, however, did not seem to hinder materially the growth of the Bakufu capital and it was getting more and more difficult to supply the city with food. One result of what is called the *Great Ainu Revolt* (a comparatively small affair in it-

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[1] The Ronin (the reader may be reminded) is literally "wave man" and signifies a samurai temporarily, or permanently, without a master.

self) of 1669-1670 was the relaxation of the laws against shipbuilding so as to permit the transport of the "tax rice" to Yedo. It was suddenly discovered that a week's interruption of the food supply would have brought the city close to starvation.

Iyetsuna continued the policy of his father in most respects, but there was considerably less strictness in enforcing the rule as to hostages remaining in the capital. Yet it was plain that the Tokugawa Shogun was beginning to degenerate and was in the not distant future to sink to the status of a mere figurehead, as was the case with earlier lines of the Shogunate. As with these others, so now; it was beginning to be thought necessary for the Shogun to have an adviser or prime minister, who gradually became the responsible head of the government. Iyetsuna's prime minister was *Sakaì Tadakiyo,* a man whose name has become a byword for cupidity and corrupt ambition. Possibly there is some injustice in this ill fame. In any case, Sakai possessed real authority, for he compelled an Emperor to retire in favor of his heir-apparent, because the sovereign's unworthiness was popularly associated with certain contemporary disasters. The court at Kyoto was most rigidly restrained from taking any part actively in the government. Even when the Emperor *Go Komyo* (1643-1654), announced his intention of taking lessons in fencing, he was pointedly reminded that the study of military matters did not become the imperial court.

As we have here made (what is comparatively rare for these times) an allusion to the sovereign, we may remark further that Go Komyo was the successor of the Empress *Myosho* (1529-1643), who herself was the granddaughter of the Shogun Hidetada and the first woman to occupy the throne of Japan in eight hundred years.

The fall of the Ming dynasty of China in 1644 and the consequent invasion by the Manchus threatened for a time to involve Japan. The famous pirates, Cheng Chih-lung and his son, Cheng Ch'eng-kung (better known as Koxinga),[2] were resident in Japan, where the elder had married a Japanese wife. Koxinga's exploits against the Manchus remind us not a little of the feats of Hereward the Wake against the Normans. For twenty years the island of Taiwan, or Formosa, conquered from the Dutch, was held by the pirates as an independent kingdom. Had the Mings made a more respectable showing against the invaders, it is quite possible that when Koxinga appealed to the Yedo Bakufu in 1658 aid might have been vouchsafed. The story of the famous buccaneer, or at least some incidents thereof, is given after a very melodramatic fashion in a play by Chikamatsu Monzayemon entitled *"Kokusenya Kassen"* ('The Battles of Koxinga').[3]

Apart from this little flurry of foreign complication, outside interests were as negligible as ever, though King Louis XIV of France did prepare a letter to the Emperor requesting an opening for the French East India Company and although the English made another attempt to open the factory at Hirado. The French letter was never sent and the English effort ended once more in failure.

Iyetsuna's "one authoritative act" was performed on his deathbed, though even here the decision was more that of *Hotta Masatoshi,* one of Japan's most famous ministers, than the Shogun's own. The news had come that Sakai Takakiyo was conspiring, after the old Kamakura fashion, to offer the Shogunate, on Iyetsuna's death, to an imperial prince. Hotta Masatoshi interposed objection and the dying ruler took immediate steps to defeat his prime minister's plan and to secure the accession of his brother, Tsunayoshi. Thus Iyetsuna, having served, even in the hour of dissolution, the Tokugawa idea, died and was gathered to his fathers.

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[2] Koxinga is the Portuguese corruption of the Chinese words *Kuo-hsing-yeh* ('Possessor of the National Surname').

[3] W. G. Aston, *Japanese Literature,* pp. 280 ff.

Tsunayoshi (1681-1709)

Of the fifth Tokugawa Shogun, Tsunayoshi, we have a first-hand description from Dr. Kaempfer, who interviewed him on several occasions. The picture is (perhaps unduly) a flattering one, and is worth transcribing, at least in part:

> Tsinajos [that is Tsunayoshi] who now sits on the secular throne of Japan, is a prince of great prudence and conduct, and heir of the virtues and good qualities of his predecessors, and withal eminent for his signal clemency and mildness, though a strict maintainer of the Laws of the Country. Bred up in the philosophy of Confucius, he governs the Empire, as the state of the Country and the good of his people requires. Happy and flourishing is the condition of his subjects under his reign. United and peaceable, taught to give due worship to the Gods, due obedience to the Laws, due submission to their superiors, due love and regard to their Neighbors, civil, obliging, virtuous, in art and industry exceeding all other nations, possess'd of an excellent Country, enrich'd by mutual Trade and Commerce among themselves, courageous, abundantly provided with all the necessaries of life, and withal enjoying the fruits of peace and tranquillity.[4]

How much of this is truth and how much mere servile rhapsody?

Certainly we must make a clear distinction between the Tsunayoshi of the early days and the Tsunayoshi of the latter. There are several things to the credit of the former. For example, there is the Shogun's insistence upon keeping the law as to shipping. Iyemitsu had, in spite of the law, built a great ship, the *Ataka Maru,* which required a crew of several hundred men and a vast sum for its annual upkeep. When Tsunayoshi ordered the breaking up of this vessel he replied to the remonstrances of his ministers that he did not wish so formidable a vessel at such a charge upon the treasury of the state. Tsunayoshi also sought and rewarded people for filial piety and other commendable virtues and caused the biographies of such to be written and circulated. The Shogun also profited by the advice of his elders in the matter of studying the principles of Confucianism. Chinese learning had become a perfect mania about this time and Tsunayoshi not only built a shrine to the great Chinese sage at Uyeno, but loved nothing better than to give lectures on Confucius to his nobles or to listen to lectures given by *Hayashi Nobuatsu.*

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[4] Engelbert Kaempfer, *History of Japan,* I, 129; III, 336.

So far all seemed roseate, and this was coincident with the ascendancy of the very able minister already referred to, Hotta Masatoshi. Masatoshi had been largely responsible for Tsunayoshi's accession and he continued to make himself responsible for his sticking to the narrow way of duty. But, alas, the minister's reward was to be assassinated, on October 8, 1684, in the Shogun's palace by a junior minister named Inaba Masayasu. The assassin was related to his victim by marriage and the apparent absence of motive has given rise to the suspicion that possibly the deed was prompted by the Shogun himself. It was a national calamity of the first order. The assassin was slain by the bystanders.

Tsunayoshi now showed himself tired of virtue and fell under the domination of a man of the very opposite type to Hotta Masatoshi. This was a squire of low degree, *Yanagisawa Yasuaki,* who has been called Tsunayoshi's "earliest pupil" in the Confucian standards which both had professed to respect. He persuaded the Shogun that his failure to have male issue was because he had in a previous existence been unkind to dogs. Then followed the absurd craze for protecting dogs which went on till the whole land was overrun with them and Yedo was filled with mangy curs whose yelping made sleep impossible at night. Human life was freely sacrificed to avenge any slight suffered by these highly privileged canines. It was this eccentricity which earned for Tsunayoshi the name of "the Dog Shogun." Kaempfer has a somewhat different version, as follows:

> . . . The now reigning Emperor, who was born in the Sign of the Dog, hath for this reason so great an esteem for this animal, as the great Roman Emperor Augustus Cæsar is reported to have had for Rams. The natives tell a pleasant tale on this head. A Japanese, as he was carrying up the dead carcass of a dog to the top of a mountain, in order to its burial, grew impatient, grumbled and curs'd the Emperor's birthday and whimsical commands. His companion, though sensible of the justice of his complaints, bid him hold his tongue and be quiet, and instead of swearing and cursing, return thanks to the Gods that the Emperor was not born in the Sign of the Horse, because in that case his load would have been much heavier.[5]

According to one account, the Shogun was eventually slain by his own wife because of the insults to which the favorite, Yoshiyasu, had exposed her. The story is probably without foundation as it appears that Tsunayoshi really died of smallpox. After his decease as many as 6,737 offenders against his dog-protecting laws were released from the jails of Yedo alone.

It was in this same reign that occurred a famous event which has been made familiar to western readers in Lord Redesdale's *Tales of Old Japan.*[6] This is the Ako vendetta, in which figure the *Forty-Seven Ronins* ('knights-errant') or *Gishi* ('loyal servitors'), whose graves at the Sangakuji, in Tokyo, are still the object of devout attention to many thousands of visitors. The *haka* ('tombs') are still adorned daily with incense sticks and flowers. It was on February 3, 1703, that the forty-seven swordsmen, who had concealed their fell purpose for over two years by all sorts of strange devices, forced their way into the house of Yoshinaka Kiro to avenge the death of their liege lord, Asano Naganori, lord of Ako. After the bloody deed the assassins were placed for a time under the charge of various daimyo, until the decision of the Shogun was rendered, ordering them to commit hara-kiri. This they did, and the graves of the Forty-Seven, together with that of the Satsuma man who repented his misjudgment of their leader, are pathetic reminders of the tragic story. In regard to the ethics of the act, various opinions were expressed at the time, but Mr. Chamberlain says: "The enthusiastic admiration of a whole people during two centuries has been the reward of their obedience to the ethical code of their time and country."[7]

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[5] *Ibid.*, I, 199.

[6] Lord Redesdale, *Tales of Old Japan*, pp. 1-24.

The last years of Tsunayoshi's life were overclouded with misfortune. His unbridled extravagance brought on a period of dire poverty. Terrible earthquakes also devastated the country, and an eruption of Fujisan, the last on record, took place in 1707.

The Genroku era

The years from 1688 to 1703 are known by the year-period name of *Genroku,* a term synonymous with traditions of great artistic splendor and achievement. It was generally regarded as a triumph of the Tokugawa peace that so many had turned aside from a boorish devotion to arms, and had taken to the arts. The isolation of Japan, moreover, had conduced to this artistic renaissance and Tsunayoshi was a liberal patron both of the Kano School, represented at Yedo, and the Tosa School, which was patronized chiefly in Kyoto.

Amongst those artists who became famous in this period may be mentioned the great *Kano Tanyu,* whose work is fortunately much in evidence at Kyoto; *Sotatsu* and *Korin,* of the Tosa School; and—not least—*Iwasa Matabei,* who founded the *Ukiyoe*[8] School, "which, leaving subjects of medieval aristocratic life, went to contemporary scenes and figures, and produced not only genre pictures in this style but the now sought-after xylographs." *Moronobu* was another of the great artists of the close of the Seventeenth Century not to be overlooked. When we reflect upon the learning when, in the province of Satsuma, he came upon achievements of the period not only in painting but in pottery, lacquer work, and metallurgy, we are quite ready to agree with those who speak of it as "the heyday of Japanese art and culture." [9]

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[7] B. H. Chamberlain, *Things Japanese,* p. 189.

[8] That is, "Painters of this Fleeting World."

Literature of the Seventeenth Century

The close of Tsunayoshi's reign furnishes us with a convenient point for summarizing the literary accomplishments of the first century of Tokugawa rule. Hideyoshi's wars had at least necessitated intercourse with Korea and China. Indirectly this intercourse brought about the rise of a school of learning entitled *Kan-gaku-sha,* or the Chinese School. The earliest of the famous scholars associated with this movement was *Fujiwara Seikwa,* who was born in 1560. Eager for the study of Chinese, he was on his way to the motherland of the commentaries of the neo-Confucian philosopher, *Chu Hsi.* From that day till his death in 1619, Seikwa was the apostle of Chinese learning and was fortunate in finding many enthusiastic disciples. Neo-Confucianism took two somewhat divergent forms. One school followed the abovenamed Chu Hsi (1130-1200), called in Japanese *Shushi;* the other followed *Wang Yang-ming* (1472-1528), called in Japanese *Oyomei.* The school generally regarded as orthodox was the former.

Seikwa's pupils included *Hayashi Rasan,* or *Doshun* (1583-1657), who was so devoted to study that the story is told of his seizing a few books in the midst of a great conflagration and continuing his annotations while being carried away in his sedan chair. Another was the famous *Kaibara Ekiken* (1630-1714), to whom is attributed, though wrongly, the authorship of the well known *Onna Daigaku* [10] ('Greater Learning for Women'), a little handbook which eventually became an indispensable part of a bride's trousseau box. Ekken, however, did write much for the common people in the way of commentaries, essays on education, botany, and geography.

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[9] M. Huish, *Japanese Art,* p. 191.

[10] Shingoro Takaishi, *The Women and Wisdom of Japan* ("Wisdom of the East Series").

In another literary category we have a new form of drama, of quite a different sort from the classical No dramas of the Ashikaga period. This is the *joruri,* or epical drama, of a romantic and even melodramatic character, written first for the *ayatsuri,* or puppet plays, such as survive to-day at Osaka, and later adapted to the *kabuki shibai,* or popular drama. In the later form the dramas are known as *kyakuhon.*[11] The century actually opened with the dramatic dances performed by a woman, *O Kuni,* who is generally regarded as the founder of the modern drama in Japan. The green sward, *shibai,* in front of the temple, on which O Kuni performed, has given the name now used for all forms of the Japanese drama.

The greatest dramatic author of Japan, *Chikamatsu Monzayemon*[12] (1653-1724), the Shakespeare of Japan, belongs to this period. Chikamatsu, who was first of all a ronin, wrote fifty-one plays which were extremely popular, alike in Yedo, Kyoto, and Osaka. The contrast between these dramas and the older No is so great as to suggest some Portuguese or Spanish influence, but no evidence has been discovered to support the theory.

In the realm of poetry we have a striking development, or rather curtailment, of the tanka, in the reduction of the length of the poem from thirty-one to seventeen syllables. The result is known as a haikai, or hokku, of which the classical example is a poem by the Lady Chiyo which runs as follows:

Asagao ni
Tsurube torarete
Morai-mizu.

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[11] *See* Zoe Kincaid, *Kabuki.*

[12] *See* Asabaro Miyamori, *The Masterpieces of Chikamatsu.*

Literally translated the verse is: "By convolvulus well-bucket taken, gift-water." Understanding might still lag painfully behind translation were it not explained that the poet, visiting her well in the morning to draw some water, found the tendrils of the *asagao* ('morning-glory') twined around the rope. Rather than do violence to the delicate flower, the poet went elsewhere for her day's supply. Mr. Frère Champney has rendered this haikai as follows:

The Morning-Glory's fragile tendrils twine
Around the rope with such bewitching spell,
I cannot bear to break the tender vine;
But draw my water from my neighbor's well.[13]

It is a good example of the fact which every student of things Japanese should heed, that, whereas elsewhere language expresses thought and sometimes conceals it, it is used generally in Japan to suggest and stimulate it.

The greatest exponent of the haikai was *Basho* [14] (1644-1694), a delightful bard of wandering propensity, a mystic of the Zen sect of Buddhism and "human at the ripe red o' the heart." To follow him in his wanderings and hear him expound why it is not poetry to write: "Pluck off the wings from the dragon fly and behold a red pepper," and why it is the genuine thing to write: "Add wings to a red pepper and behold a dragon fly," is to learn much of Japanese poetry, not in the court, but in the village and among the common people. There are few figures in the literary history of Japan who more immediately inspire love and respect than Basho.

Iyenobu

Tsunayoshi was succeeded by his nephew, Iyenobu, a man of mature years, who had been designated as heir some five years previously. His brief reign gave promise of good things which unfortunately were not destined to be fulfilled. He was shrewd enough to perceive the dangers to the Tokugawa ascendancy which the last few years had revealed, and set himself to counteract them with a good deal of energy. For example, he lost no time in abolishing the absurd rules for the veneration of dogs which Tsunayoshi had adopted. At the grave of his predecessor he is credited with the following sensible and candid apology: "You desired to protect living animals and strictly interdicted the slaughter of any such. You willed that even after your death the prohibition should be observed. But hundreds of thousands of human beings are suffering from the operation of your law. To repeal it is the only way of bringing peace to the nation."

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[13] Frère Champney, *Romance of Old Japan*, p. 134.

[14] B. H. Chamberlain, *Japanese Poetry*, pp. 219 ff.

Arai Hakuseki (1657-1725)

Iyenobu found the financial condition of the Empire, through the extravagance of the late Shogun, well nigh desperate, and his ministers were strongly inclined to seek relief by debasing the coinage. This evil was averted by the genius of one who, without holding office, was called to replace as adviser that sinister incubus of the late Shogun, Yanagisawa Yoshiyasu. *Arai Hakuseki,* whose name Arai ('Spark'), was a reminder that he was born three weeks after the Great Fire of Yedo in 1657, is one of the best representatives of the Kan-gaku-sha, or Chinese School of learning. It was he who advised the Shogun to abandon the old custom of forcing all members of the royal family, except the very highest, to take Buddhist vows—advice which led to important results, since recent Emperors have all been descended from a prince whom this exemption enabled to found a family.

Hakuseki succeeded in placing the currency of the Empire on a sound basis; he conducted successful negotiations with Korea; and he was the Shogun's unofficial adviser in many difficult transactions. He is best known to us to-day as a writer and has given in a charming autobiography a very vivid description of the life of the time. The title of the book, *Burning Faggots,* was suggested by a poem of the Emperor Go Toba, whose memory of early days had been stimulated by the scent of the wood fires of his simple hearth. In this and other works we have a picture of the author's early life with its Spartan simplicity. Every day the little boy was compelled to write three thousand Chinese characters and every night a thousand more, keeping buckets of water close beside him on the veranda to throw over his head and shoulders when beset by fits of drowsiness. Hakuseki's greatest work is a history of the daimyo from 1600 to 1680, called the *Han-kampu*, in thirty volumes. It is like an open window on the manners and customs of the period and on the character of its chief personalities. For example, we are told of a celebrated judge of criminal cases, Itakura Shigehide, that, in judging a case, he was always wont, first, to worship the gods of Atago, next, to grind tea in a tea mill to test the steadiness of his nerves, and lastly, to set a screen between himself and the accused lest he should be prejudiced by an unpleasing countenance. Incidentally, we learn something of the Shogun: "When Hakuseki lectured on the Chinese classics, Iyenobu listened with the greatest respect, refraining in summer from brushing off a mosquito, and, in winter, when he had a cold in his head, turning away from the lecturer before wiping his nose with the paper of which he kept a supply in his sleeve." "You may imagine," he adds, "how quiet the rest of the audience were."

Father Sidotti

Closely associated with the story of Arai Hakuseki is that of Father Sidotti, an Italian priest who managed to land on the Satsuma coast in 1708. He was, of course, arrested soon after, and then sent on to Yedo, where he was turned over to Hakuseki for examination. The account preserved of the discourse which ensued upon the merits of the Christian religion serves to illustrate the difficulty which an intelligent Japanese of the time must have experienced in understanding the doctrines of the faith. Sidotti was reported as worthy of punishment and Hakuseki suggested that the Shogun had the choice of three courses. The prisoner might be deported, imprisoned, or executed. The second plan was decided upon, but it practically included the third, since the brave missionary died soon after in his dungeon.

Iyetsugu (1713-1716)

The seventh Tokugawa was the son of the sixth, and was fortunate in being able to avail himself of the services of Hakuseki, till an unlucky difference with his fellow ministers led to his retirement. Between the death of the late Shogun and the appointment of the son there was an interval of five months, but, as a child five years old, the new Shogun could, of course, take no part in state affairs. After less than four-years' occupation of the office, Iyetsugu died. With him expired the direct line of Hidetada. The foresight of Iyeyasu in naming the three families from which, in such case, choice could be made, was now vindicated.

CHAPTER XXII

FROM YOSHIMUNE TO IYEHARU (1716-1786)

Yoshimune (1716-1745)

It should be remembered that Iyeyasu had bestowed the right of succession, in case of failure of direct issue, on two other subordinate branches of the family. He had given to the three branches the important fiefs of Kii, Owari, and Mito, respectively, and the three lines were known as the *Go San Kei* (the 'Three Noble Families'). On the death of Iyetsugu it was from the Kii family that the new Shogun, *Yoshimune,* was drawn, the great-grandson of Iyeyasu and grandson of Yorinobu. He was thirty-nine years old at the time of his accession and had lived from early years among the fisher folk in quite straitened circumstances. This early experience familiarized him with the life of the common people and helped to form the habit of simple living which distinguished him from some of his predecessors. He retained this simplicity throughout his life, wearing only cotton in summer and garments of hemp in winter. He labored hard to extend the principle of economy into the court life of Yedo. With extraordinary courage he attacked not only the extravagances of the nobles, but of the ladies in waiting as well. An amusing story is told of his requesting the names of the fifty most beautiful ladies at the court. The compilation of this list excited the highest hopes in many female breasts, but conceive of the disgust of the fair ones when they learned that the fifty conspicuous beauties were to be sent packing, because they should have no difficulty in finding husbands, whereas those less favored by nature might legitimately expect the charitable hospitality of the Shogun.

It was through Yoshimune's desire to rid himself of the cost of keeping up the defenses of Yedo castle that he planted around the walls the beautiful and graceful pines which are the admiration to-day of every visitor to Tokyo. Also the fine plum and cherry groves in the neighborhood of the capital are due to the Shogun's taste and eye for beauty. Yoshimune's policy harked back to the earlier and sterner days of the Tokugawas and at the same time made him a precursor of the era of Meiji. He always prefaced his edicts with the words: "In pursuance of the methods fixed by Gongen," and he worked hard to revive something of the old spirit of bushido by the encouragement of horsemanship, hawking and other outdoor sports. It was for this reason that he was sometimes called the "Falcon Shogun." No Shogun ever strove so earnestly to make justice prevail in the land. He revived the use of the Complaint Box, putting a box into which people might drop their petitions in front of the Supreme Court Building. He was also the first to cause the laws to be expounded in the presence of the people. The compilation of the code known as *Oshioki Ojomoku,* under the chief commissioner, Matsudaira Norimura, gave Japan what has been termed the first genuine Japanese Code. The *Hundred Articles of Kwampu,* of 1742, must certainly be regarded as of the highest importance. It was also through the Shogun's efforts that a Chief Justice was discovered for Yedo whose remarkable decisions gained for him such titles as the Solomon of Japan and the Lord Eldon of Japan. This prodigy of learning and acumen was *Ooka Tadasuke,* who assisted in the compilation of the work known as "The Rules for Judicial Procedure."

Yoshimune was a forerunner of modern Japanese statesmen in his zeal for advancing the industrial interests of the Empire. He revised and stabilized the currency and did everything possible to encourage agriculture, even making the way open for the skillful and pious farmer to become a samurai and bear a family name. Sugar, rice, tobacco, the orange, the sweet potato, and drugs were extensively grown. Fish-curing was improved and irrigation extended.

As for learning, although Yoshimune patronized the neo-Confucianism of the Shushi school, he was the most open of all the Shoguns to the advantages of foreign learning. He rescinded Iyemitsu's edict prohibiting the importation of foreign books, keeping the ban only upon literature which was Christian. He was fond of astronomy and had a telescope erected at Kanda for his use. Thus, while the driving of specifically Japanese learning to the Kyoto court was preparing the way for a reaction against the Bakufu, the introduction of western learning to Yedo was preparing, from another direction, the like downfall for the machinery of the Tokugawas.

Dutch learning

All unconsciously, Yoshimune was a forerunner of the revolution in which the Shogunate was to disappear. The permission for Japanese students to study the learning of the West in the books of the Hollanders may surely be said to mark an epoch among the events slowly marching towards the appearance of the new Japan. The newer outlook is illustrated both by the appearance in Japan of such works as a *Universal Geography* and a *History of Russia* and by the response given to the new light by a "small, transfigured band" of Japanese scholars. In this connection, *Aoki Konyo,* a Confucian scholar and the superintendent of the Shogun's library, may be mentioned. Because of his enthusiasm for the cultivation of the sweet potato as a means of averting famine, Aoki is known by the nickname inscribed upon his tombstone, "The Sweet-Potato Master." He went to Nagasaki in 1744 and there gained a very considerable acquaintance with the Dutch learning. His services to his country were recognized in the forty-first year of Meiji (1907) by the bestowal upon him by the Emperor of posthumous honors. There is a certain irony in the situation, seeing that this pioneer of the new order, through which the Emperor was restored and the Shogunate abolished, was the personal representative of the Shogun himself at Nagasaki. So little are the most sagacious capable of judging the ultimate results of their most deliberate policies.[1]

Yoshimune resigned his office in 1745 to his son *Iyeshige* and, without altogether relinquishing his control of affairs of state, lived for six years longer.

Iyeshige (1745-1760)

Of the three sons of Yoshimune the second was decidedly the ablest, but the ex-Shogun was looking forward to some additional years of personal control and he had already his eyes upon the third generation in the person of his grandson, Iyeharu, the son of Iyeshige. So, for the sake of the son who was in all probability destined to succeed him, Iyeshige was appointed Shogun and the two remaining brothers were consoled with an arrangement, known as the *Go San Kyo,* analogous to the system of the Go San Kei established, not without subsequent advantage, by Iyeyasu. By means of this plan three chosen families were specially endowed with a revenue in order that, in any future emergency, they might, one or the other, provide a Shogun from their ranks.

There is nothing much which needs to be said of Iyeshige and little that is good. "The short-tempered Shogun," as he was nicknamed, was not only a man of violent passions, but he was weak, debauched, and incompetent. While Yoshimune was alive, these ill qualities were to a certain extent concealed or nullified, but after 1751 the Shogun went from bad to worse and there was none to regret his abdication in 1760, or his death just a year later.

Iyeharu (1760-1786)

Iyeshige was succeeded, as Yoshimune had anticipated, by his son, Iyeharu, who, born in 1737, was now a young man of considerable promise. But, alas, from the first, he disappointed his well-wishers and placed himself under the direction of a favorite who has had few equals in infamy. This notorious parasite was *Tanuma Okitsugu,* and under the régime of this individual the fortunes of the Empire sank to almost unbelievable depths. Bribery and corruption prevailed everywhere and social life was putrid with gambling and every other form of immorality. To the misery brought about by human weakness and wickedness must be added that entailed by seven years of the wrath of Heaven. The series of dreadful natural calamities is almost unprecedented. "In the autumn of 1771 a hurricane swept over the country and destroyed a great part of the crops. In the spring of 1773 a pestilence killed 90,000 people in four months. In 1782 a volcanic eruption burst forth from Mt. Asama and buried a number of villages under mud and rocks. In 1783 a famine reduced the people to such extremities that they subsisted on dogs, cats, rats, herbs, roots and bark."[2] The poverty was so general that at length Okitsugu issued an edict for the turning in to the Bakufu of all the gold from the temples. This edict proved his last, and the death of the Shogun followed not long after the dismissal of his unworthy minister.

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[1] D. C. Greene, "Life of Takano Nagahide," *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan,* August, 1913.

Signs were already multiplying to show that the Tokugawa dynasty of Shoguns had about exhausted its mandate.

The Wa-gaku-sha

In the extreme north, though almost unobserved by the agents of the Bakufu, the problem of foreign intervention was again raising its head through the advance of the Russians towards the south from Kamchatka. But the most potent danger to the Tokugawa supremacy was from within rather than from without. Even a century before the days of Iyeharu the seeds of a future revolt had been sown by a member of the Tokugawa family, no less a personage than *Mitsukuni,* the Prince of Mito (1622-1700), grandson of Iyeyasu himself. Mitsukuni wrote, or compiled, the

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[2] F. Brinkley, *Japan,* III, 154.

Dai Nihonshi (the 'Great History of Japan'), in 240 volumes. This remarkable work, which, however, was not printed until 1851, has been in its revolutionary influence compared with the famous Dictionary of Bayle. For the first time it directed the minds of men to the older traditions of the Empire, when such a thing as duarchy was unknown. Accordingly, Sir Ernest Satow looks upon Mitsukuni as the "real author of the movement which culminated in the Revolution of 1868." The Prince of Mito added to the services which he rendered to his country by the compilation of the *Dai Nihonshi* by securing the making of an anthology in the Wabun, or Japanese style, which may be said to have inaugurated the new literary movement away from the Kan-gaku-sha, or Chinese School.

This movement is known as the *Wa-gaku-sha,* or Japanese School, a movement destined slowly but surely to undermine and destroy the authority of the Shogun. It involved, among other consequences, what has been called "the revival of Pure Shinto," that is, the freeing of Japanese religion from all the Buddhistic and other foreign influences which had especially associated themselves with the Shogunal form of government. It involved also a new enthusiasm of loyalty for the Emperors and for everything connected with the imperial court at Kyoto.

Connected with this highly significant reaction are several of the most famous of Japanese authors. Two of them belong particularly to the period covered in the present chapter, namely, *Kamo Mabuchi* (1697-1769), and *Motoori Norinaga* (1730-1801). The former, who, to his own satisfaction, traced his descent back to the divine three-legged crow which guided Jimmu Tenno in his conquests, was called by his successor "the parent of the study of antiquity." He credited all the crimes which had ever visited Japan to the pursuit of Chinese learning and asserted that "a philosophy which produces such effects must be founded on falsehood." Motoori was Mabuchi's most celebrated pupil. He wrote voluminously in favor of reviving the ancient faith and forms of Japan. To the outside world Motoori is best known by his beautiful tanka, descriptive of the Spirit of Japan:

If one should ask you
  What is the heart
Of Island Yamato—
It is the mountain cherry-blossom
  Which exhales its perfume in the morning sun.

Motoori's work was carried on after his death by a writer scarcely less famous, *Hirata* (1776-1843), who brings the Wa-gaku-sha movement well into the Nineteenth Century.[3]

The Dutch students

Coincident with this remarkable revival of interest in things Japanese, as already illustrated in the case of Yoshimune, we find an increasing desire to become better acquainted with the wisdom of the West, so far as this could be discovered through the books of the Dutchmen. Curiously enough, as we have already pointed out, the two opposite movements ultimately served the same end, namely, the destruction of the Shogunate. Even as Satow finds the origin of the Revolution in the historical research of the Prince of Mito, Professor Ukita of Waseda University traces it specifically back to March 4, 1771, when two Japanese students, *Sugita Gempaku* and *Maeno Ryotaku*, proved the superiority of western science by dissecting the dead body of a criminal and comparing the results with the Dutch books of anatomy. Sugita Gempaku (1732-1817) had carefully studied the old Chinese system of medicine, but all to no effect. Then his zeal for science led him to undertake the study of Dutch and this in turn led to those attainments which earned for him in 1907 posthumous honors. Maeno Ryotaku, known also as Rankwa

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[3] E. Satow, "The Revival of Pure Shinto," *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan,* 1882.

(1723-1803), was a pupil of Aoki Konyo, who taught him five hundred Dutch words and started him on his career as a physician. Rankwa followed up his medical work with translations and with the preparation of a Dutch vocabulary. His zeal earned for him in time the nickname of *Oranda Geshin* ('Bewitched with Dutch'). These men are only examples taken out of many of those who overcame the most prodigious difficulties and bore cheerfully all kinds of pains and penalties in order to extricate Japan from the isolation to which the Tokugawa policy had condemned her.

CHAPTER XXIII

IYENARI TO THE COMING OF PERRY (1787-1853)

Iyenari (1787-1836)

For the next fifty years there were brief interludes of time when the Tokugawa Shogunate seemed almost to have renewed its vigorous youth. The young successor of Iyeharu, Iyenari, a great-grandson of Yoshimune, proved an able and well intentioned ruler, even if he were unable to "toil terribly" as did Yoshimune. He had the good fortune to reign longer than any other of his line, forty-eight years in his own right. He had the still better fortune to secure the assistance of one of the very best of the Tokugawa ministers. This was *Matsudaira Sadanobu,* who had attracted notice by his publishing, in 1786, the *Sangoku Tsuran* ('Study of Three Countries'), in which he directed attention to the growing Muscovite menace in the north. Sadanobu, who was a member of the "Three Families," was attentive to everything in the Empire from the greatest to the least. He revised and reissued the Tokugawa Code which had been promulgated in the days of Yoshimune under the name of the Hundred Laws and Regulations of the Tokugawas. He provided against famine by arrangements for the storing of grain. He made laws dealing with sumptuary matters, of so meticulous a sort that they ordered the cost of wedding presents to be cut in half, prescribed the proper size for children's dolls, and forbade women to employ hairdressers for the arrangement of their hair. After the terrible fire in Kyoto in 1788, one of the most widespread conflagrations that ever devastated the imperial city, Sadanobu even undertook, on behalf of the Bakufu, to rebuild the royal palace. It is interesting to note, in view of the almost total eclipse of the Japanese sovereigns during this period, that the contemporary Emperor, *Kokaku,* was a man of full age and ripe ability who was doing his best, considering his very limited opportunities, to fulfil the duties of his exalted station. It was a matter of general congratulation that there was at this time "a wise Emperor in the west [Kyoto] and a clever Treasurer in the east [Yedo]." When the Eighteenth Century came to an end, the *Kwansei peace* (1789-1800), seemed to augur a long continuance of power for the Tokugawas and of prosperity for the country. Alas, that it was but a short-lived respite.

Foreign affairs

The end of the Napoleonic wars in Europe was the prelude to a new era of adventure on the seas for the nations involved. But even before this prolonged conflict had run its course and the new energies were released, there were indications that Japan's isolation was not so secure as she had imagined.

In 1799, the London East India Company reported through its committee that the export trade to Japan "could never become an object of importance to our manufacturers, or serve as a vent for our produce, on the ground that the only returns must be in copper, an article produced by our own mines, to the full extent of home consumption and foreign exportation." Nevertheless, Captain Broughton, in the *Providence,* made a survey of Japanese waters in 1795-1797, and landed on the coast of Yezo (Hokkaido). The natives he found "civil to him on shore" but plainly anxious for his departure, and "unremitting jealousy of foreigners seemed to prevail in every part of those seas at which the *Providence* touched." It is said that the merchants of Calcutta sent a richly laden ship under Captain Torey to Nagasaki in 1803, but the vessel was ordered to quit the coast within twenty-four hours. In 1808, the British frigate *Phaeton,* under Sir Edward Pellew, entered Nagasaki harbor in search of Dutch prizes. It made no stay but caused great excitement for a time. Several high Japanese officials committed suicide because of having allowed the great vessel to escape.[1]

It was from Russia in the north that the Shoguns first found cause for apprehension. Here the knockings at the closed door were loud and insistent. The menace was sufficiently real to suggest the sending by the Shogun of an expedition under *Mamiya,* which had the result of proving that Sakhalin, hitherto supposed to be a peninsula, was an island. The strait between the mainland and Sakhalin was named Mamiya Strait, in honor of the Japanese discoverer. In 1792 came Laxman, with the excuse of returning to their fatherland some Japanese shipwrecked sailors. In 1804, more castaways were brought by Resanoff to Nagasaki, only to be put off and eventually refused admission. About the same time Captain Krusenstern came and opened up commercial negotiations, the Japanese asking whether Russia could "furnish sugar, rye, skins, medicines and many other articles," also expressing curiosity as to the number of ships which might be sent to Nagasaki. But next year the exasperated northerners, under Chwostoff, invaded Sakhalin and threatened violence, an episode remembered to the Russian disadvantage when the *Diana* came, under Captain Golownin, in 1811. Golownin was on a cruise to survey the coast of Yezo when he landed with several of his crew at "Kunashier." He was seized and sent first to Hakodate and thence to Matsumaye where his imprisonment and that of his men lasted for about two years. Eventually Captain Ricord arrived with proof that Golownin had had nothing to do with earlier depredations on the coast and the captives were set at liberty. The incident proved the occasion for an exceedingly valuable and interesting narrative written by the captain,[2] who had learned to appreciate the good qualities of the Japanese. He was prescient enough to write as follows: "What must we expect of this numerous, ingenious and industrious people, who are capable of everything and much inclined to imitate all that is foreign, should they ever have a sovereign like our Peter the Great . . . and build ships on the model of those of Europe; . . . I therefore believe that this just and upright people must not be provoked."

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[1] James Murdoch, *History of Japan,* III, 518, 527.

[2] Captain Golownin, *Japan and the Japanese* (1853).

Other similar failures might be mentioned, all of them showing a growing concern on the part of the Japanese and a growing disposition to take to heart the hitherto neglected matter of coast defense.

American ships, too, now began to make their appearance in Oriental waters. The whole history of the American Republic, from the first period of colonization through its westward expansion to the Pacific, has been described as an episode in the long story of the rediscovery of the Orient.[3] From the time when Hendrik Hudson ran aground off Albany believing that he was nosing his way into the harbor of Canton, and from the day that La Salle disappeared into the Canadian forests with the word *La Chine* upon his lips, the obvious trend of American history has been to fulfill the dream of the voyagers of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth centuries. From the time of Captain Cook's discovery of the Hawaiian Islands there were not lacking men who looked to the Orient for the fulfilling of American dreams of wealth. There were visionaries (so-called) like John Ledyard; merchants like Robert Morris or Stephen Girard, or the John Brown who, out of the proceeds of the Eastern traffic, founded Brown University; cities like Salem and Providence and Boston, which waxed rich upon the China trade. Joseph Hergesheimer has given us a vivid picture of this in *Java Head*.

It was, of course, China that was the chief and earliest lure, since it was to the ports of that land that the whalers and the fur-traders could take their cargoes, or the New

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[3] Sydney and Marjorie Greenbie, *Gold of Ophir*.

England Puritans (without too much prick of conscience) take sandalwood to the heathen for incense or opium for their smoking.[4] The first American vessel to visit Japanese waters was the *Eliza,* under Captain Stewart, an Englishman passing as an American. She did not, however, go to Nagasaki on her own initiative, but hired by the Dutch. On her own responsibility she endeavored to return in 1803, but failed. From 1798 to 1803 the annual vessels were all American, hired by the Dutch, and the Japanese began to complain. They said that if there were no longer any Dutch ships the reason for the Dutch occupation of Deshima no longer existed.

But Cook's great discovery was already transferring the eyes of men to the Pacific in a new way. The founding of Astoria, the revival of whaling after the War of 1812, the possibility of marketing furs of the northwest with huge profit in Canton, all led to rapid and unforeseen developments. Then the grievances of shipwrecked sailors, treated as though they had been criminal, began to appeal to the nation. The question soon came to be debated: If Decatur was sent to Algiers, why should not a squadron be sent to Japan? However, in the time of the Shogun Iyenari, the only steps taken were, first, the suggestion of John Quincy Adams as to the responsibility of the United States in the matter of reopening Japan, and, secondly, the plan of President Andrew Jackson in 1832 to send Edmond Roberts as American envoy to the Oriental courts.[5] The interesting extensions and consequences of this new policy we shall see during the reign of the succeeding Shogun.

Meanwhile, the Dutch continued along their accustomed way, though their trade had now passed from the Golden and the Silver Age to that which, for several reasons, is known as the Brazen Age. But the Dutch influence upon the eager young patriots who were becoming impatient of the restrictions imposed upon their curiosity by the Shoguns was greater than ever. In 1823 arrived the famous Bavarian physician, *Dr. Siebold,* in the service of the Hollanders, and to him flocked many of the students of the time. They reported that, while study at Yedo was like fighting on a mat, the studies at Nagasaki were like fighting in a real battle. Dr. Siebold found that the students who sought him might be divided into two classes. One class was chiefly concerned with the prospect of political reform and the other with advance in medical knowledge. Among the latter was *Unagami Zuio,* who, on one occasion, to gain food begged at a farmer's door, after having administered a strong drug to the farmer's cow. On the alarm being given that the cow was violently sick, Unagami presented himself as a qualified medico and prescribed the antidote. The money offered by the grateful peasant enabled the needy student to get on to the next town.[6]

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[4] K. Latourette, *History of Early Relations between the United States and China.*

[5] I. Nitobe, *The Japanese Nation,* Chap. XI.

Literature under Iyenari

The career of *Hirata Atsutane* (1776-1843), the follower of Motoori as an exponent of Wa-gaku-sha, is almost coextensive with the rule of Iyenari. Hirata was by no means alone in his reassertion of the divine right of the Mikado to rule as well as reign. He believed also in the "divine descent of the Japanese people" and to this attributed their "immeasurable superiority in courage and intelligence to the natives of all other countries." Although, however, the turn of the tide against the claim of the Shoguns is clearly observable, devotion to Chinese learning and philosophy was by no means exhausted. The struggle between the two neo-Confucian schools of *Chu Hsi* and *Wang Yang-ming,* which was really one between dualism and monism, continued, with the odds in favor of the former.

Hitherto, literature had been largely aristocratic, but this age witnessed very interesting and important developments in the direction of popular and even sensational works of fiction. The two best known novelists of the time are *Santo Kioden* (1761-1861), who wrote, among other things, an *Edifying Story Book,* a work sadly belying its title; and *Bakin* (1767-1848), who has been called the Japanese Dumas. Bakin, who resembles Scott much more than Dumas, is probably the most famous of all the fiction writers of Japan. His chief work is the *Hakkenden* ('Story of the Eight Dogs'), an enormous work of over a hundred volumes in the Japanese. It contains the adventures of eight heroes of semicanine origin who are intended, after the manner of the *Faërie Queene,* to represent the eight cardinal virtues. Another important novel of Bakin's is the *Yumiharizuki,* recording the adventures of the great Minamoto archer, Tametomo. A less important work, the *Seiyuki* ('Journey to the West'), is the adaptation of a Chinese romance describing the adventures of Hiouen Tsang, the famous Buddhist monk, with his magician monkey.[7] Many of Bakin's novels, till the two friends fell out, were illustrated by the celebrated artist, Hokusai.

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[6] D. C. Greene, Appendix to Osada's "Life of Takano Nagahide," *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan,* August, 1913.

The art of the period

The Japanese art of this time is varied and important. Many great names suggest themselves. In pictorial art we have *Okyo,* founder of the naturalistic school; *Sosen,* the Japanese Landseer; *Kiyonaga;* and *Hokusai,* whom Whistler calls the greatest pictorial artist since Vandyke. *Okyo* (1732-1795) in his youth copied the Dutch, imitating with his brush even the line of the engravings. He was particularly interested in animal life and the beautiful story is told of his working in the cave studio to paint a live wild boar. Over and over again he painted the animal, only to obtain from the hunters, whom he consulted as critics, the disappointing verdict that his boar was dead. When, at length, over his latest effort, they declared that the beast was alive but still asleep, he knew that he was making progress. Okyo painted other subjects besides animals and the Daijo temple at Kameizan, in which every room carries out a separate idea, is a crowning example of his superb art. *Sosen* (1747-1821) was also a lover of animal life and lived long in the forests to learn how best to depict the monkeys which are regarded as his masterpieces. The name of *Hokusai* is probably the greatest in the history of Oriental art, although the Japanese might not altogether concur in the enthusiasm of the western estimate. "The Old Man Mad with Painting," as Hokusai called himself, lived from 1759 to 1849, only to feel his long life inadequate for expressing the full fecundity of his genius. At the age of seventy-five he wrote as follows:

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[7] W. G. Aston, *Japanese Literature,* pp. 352 ff.

> From my sixth year onwards a peculiar mania of drawing all sorts of things took possession of me. At my fiftieth year I had published quite a number of works of every possible description, but none were to my satisfaction. Real work began with me only in my seventieth year. Now at seventy-five the real appreciation of nature wakens within me. I therefore hope that at eighty I may have arrived at a certain power of intuition which will develop further until my ninetieth year, so that at the age of a hundred I can proudly assert that my intuition is thoroughly artistic. And should it be granted to me to live a hundred and ten years, I hope that a vital and true comprehension of nature may radiate from every one of my lines and dots.

Hokusai lived, in fact, into his ninetieth year, working and learning, like Michelangelo, up to the last. He left behind him five hundred volumes of drawings which serve to illustrate almost every phase of Japanese life and scenery.

Another branch of art which at this time attained its most striking manifestation is that of color printing. The woodcuts of Japan, which reflect common rather than artistic life, have become deservedly famous. The primitive masters begin as early as 1625 with *Norunobu*. From that time onwards the outstanding figures are those of *Harunobu* (1764-1780); *Shigemasa* (1740-1819); *Masanobu* (1716-1816); *Utamaro* (1753-1797); and *Hiroshige* (1796-1858).[8] This last has been regarded by many as the foremost landscape painter of Japan. His farewell verse has become as well known as some of his pictures:

> I leave my brush at Azuma,
> And go on to the journey to the Holy West,
> To view the famous scenery there.

In many other directions than those mentioned, not least in the casting of bronzes, and the carving of *netsuke*,[9] this period of Japanese art is noteworthy and indeed deserving of intensive study.

Iyeyoshi (1837-1853)

In 1836, the Empire was facing a very serious condition of famine and poverty. So desperate had men become that a patriotic official, *Oshio Heihachiro,* after stripping himself of all his possessions in order to relieve the necessities of the poor, led a revolt at Osaka against the Shogun, charging that much of the prevalent ill-fortune was due to the wrongful treatment of the Emperor. The attempt was premature and, on its failure, after eighteen thousand buildings had been burned at Osaka, Oshio committed suicide, leaving behind him an explanation of his action.

A more practical effort in the direction of remedying a bad situation is seen in the life and activity of the famous *Ninomiya Sontoku* (1787-1857).[10] This great agricultural reformer and sage, who in his early days endured the nickname of "Crazy Kinjiro," had an immense deal to do with the development of Japanese agricultural resources, through the Hotoku Society, and by the inculcation of the virtue of thrift. He said: "If you are in debt, you must paste up the amount in front of the *kamidana* ('god shelf') so as to see it every morning." He told how Junsaku kept the old rope of wistaria vine which had been used by his ancestors to bind heavy burdens on their backs. On it was written: "Our descendants must not forget the industrious spirit of their ancestors." He scolded a servant for exhibiting indecision of mind by not slicing the radish through. How Sontoku restored the impoverished Soma estate and brought it to prosperity is one of the most interesting stories of Japanese industry, tact, and real religious optimism.

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[8] A. Ficke, *Chats on Japanese Prints.*

[9] A kind of carved ivory button or "toggle," used for suspending a pouch from the belt.

[10] R. C. Armstrong, *Just Before the Dawn.*

In the case of the Shogun, the miseries of the time led to his abdication in 1837 in favor of his son, Iyeyoshi, though for some four years more he lived to take more or less part in the administration. Under the new-coming Shogun the signs of imminent downfall multiplied around the Tokugawa edifice. The main causes may be summarized as follows:

1. The empty treasury which no economies, it seemed, availed to fill.
2. The increasing restiveness of the *tozama daimyo*, or outside feudatories, who were beginning to see the possibilities of a rallying point in the imperial court.
3. The growing ardor of the devotees of foreign learning for the restoration of intercourse with the outside world.
4. The pressure exerted from without on the part of the western nations to obtain admission to the Japanese ports.

The history of Iyeyoshi's tenure of power gathers about these four heads. Of the former two, little needs to be said here. To replenish the treasury a very able statesman, *Mizuno Tadakuni,* generally known as Echizen no Kami, labored for many years, but fate was against him. The whole period of the so-called *Tempo* Reformation (1830-1844) was one in which, wave after wave, natural calamities came to add to the economic despair. Moreover, Echizen no Kami overshot his mark, and by the severity and extravagance of his demands created widespread irritation and opposition. The agitation among the outside feudatories was the culmination of long and only slightly concealed hostility to the Tokugawas. To make use of this accumulating disaffection the opportunity was at last at hand. In 1846 the Emperor *Komei* succeeded his father Ninko and began at once to assert himself, alarmed apparently by the French menace in the Ryukyu Islands and by the signing of the Treaty of Nanking by the Chinese in 1842. The College of Nobles, which had been established in Kyoto by his predecessor, was also exhibiting tendencies which seemed dangerous to the ascendancy of the Tokugawas. Komei began to insist upon the submission to him of all questions of foreign policy and, moreover, carried his point.

The pioneers of the new order

While much has been written with regard to the pressure exerted by foreign nations upon the stubborn seclusive policy of Japan, little has hitherto been said concerning the forces which were operating from within to effect a change. It is necessary, therefore, to stress somewhat the point that the latter are at least as important as the former. As in some terrible mine explosion, through which hundreds of men are entombed, we may know more of the efforts made from outside to break through the imprisoning wall of rock, yet must also take account of the constant tap-tap of the picks working for deliverance from within, so it is manifestly our duty to supplement the familiar story of the coming of Perry with the less known but nevertheless important episodes which bring us before some of the prophets of the new day in Japan herself. The story of these heroes, who were ready to brave imprisonment and death to hasten the reëmergence of the Sun Goddess from her cavern, is a very inspiring one and should be better known than is unfortunately the case. They were aware that the new sun-light, when at length it should stream through the gap, would shine upon their own dead bodies. They might even be entirely without recognition, "to the cause they served unknown." But they believed, nevertheless, that the outside light might burst upon them and dispel the fumes of their night. Robert Louis Stevenson, in his *Familiar Studies of Men and Books,* has written of one of these heroes, of whom he accidentally heard through his friend, Mr. Masaki. He says in commencing his essay on "Yoshida Torajiro": "The name at the head of this page is probably unknown to the English reader, and yet I think it should become a household word like that of Garibaldi and John Brown." Alas, the great novelist's hope has not yet been realized. Most of these "great-hearted gentlemen" are still among those who "lie in the myriad graves of old, with never a story and never a stone." Yet the fame of men like Rin Shihei, Kwazan Watanabe, Shozan Sakuma, and the rest must sometime reach the West, for its enlightenment and its inspiration. It will not be amiss, even in such a summary as the present, to say something of one of them.[11]

Takano Nagahide

This distinguished pioneer of the new Japan was born some thirty miles from Sendai in 1804 and fled from the house of his adopted father in 1820 to pursue learning in Yedo. Here he barely saved himself from starving by practising massage at night, after a strenuous day of study at school. After a time he put himself under a student of Dutch medicine and it was while gathering herbs over the countryside that he became impressed with the general poverty and misery of the populace. After periods of hardship during which he had even to sell himself for a time to discharge a debt, Takano was enabled to get to Nagasaki, where the famous Dr. Siebold had but lately arrived. Here he began to work and write for the redemption of his country from disorder and misrule. A list of 51 separate works, in 213 volumes, includes such subjects as *A Treatise on Analytical Chemistry, On Pneumonia, On Ulcers, A Treatise on Coast Defence, On Soap, The Essentials of Gunnery, A Comparative Grammar of Chinese, Japanese and Dutch, A Treatise on the Eye, A Treatise on Astronomy, On the Thermometer,* etc. But the most important work of all, an epoch-making work in its influence on the reopening of Japan, was the *Yume Monogatari* ('The Story of a Dream') in which the author, who had got wind of the expected coming of the ship *Morrison,* defended the idea of renewed intercourse. The argument was put into the form of a dream to avert the wrath of the authorities, but in this it did not succeed. From that day to the end, Nagahide led the life of the hunted criminal, imprisoned and escaping (through a fire) only to be recaptured eventually through the treachery of one to whom he had played the part of benefactor. When the fugitive, who had burned his face with saltpeter to avoid recognition, knew that the toils of the law were drawn tightly about him, he made the requisite preparations and, with all the old, heroic etiquette, took the way of the samurai out of life. Such a summary does little justice to the story of a great career, but sometime the life and death of Takano Nagahide, Kwazan Watanabe, and their fellows will be fully and worthily told.

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[11] *See* Osada, "Life of Takano Nagahide," *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan,* August, 1913.

The foreign ships

Meanwhile, the ships of the foreigners were more and more insistently appearing on the coasts of Japan. The Shogun was beginning to realize that he was between the hammer and the anvil, for, with all his desire to maintain inviolate the seclusion of his country, none knew better than he the weakness of the land in the face of the naval forces such as had recently made a break in the brazen walls of the Middle Kingdom. Moreover, there were many enemies at Kyoto who were only too eager to detect signs of weakness in the Bakufu. The *Morrison,* in 1837, was chartered by Mr.

C. W. King, an American merchant residing at Macao, to take back to Japan a little company of seven shipwrecked sailors. It came, with men on board such as Peter Parker, Gutzlaff, and S. Wells Williams, but was fired on in Yedo Bay, so that the merciful mission had no other apparent result than to increase the prevalent exacerbation. It is said that the account written by Mr. King of his adventures here and elsewhere is the first American book about Japan.[12]

The story of some of the Japanese sailors saved by the foreign ships has in it quite an element of romance. There is, for example, the Japanese found adrift and taken to China who became known as Sam Patch, because he was forever wailing "*Shimpai*" ('trouble'). More interesting still is the story of Manjiro Nakahana, who drifted away in 1841 and lived for nearly six months on a little rocky island upon turtle and bird's eggs. He was taken off on June 27, 1841, by Captain Whitfield, of the *John Howland*, and christened John Mung. Subsequently he visited America with the first Japanese mission to the United States, in 1860, and later still became a Professor at the Imperial University of Tokyo.

Growth of American interest

In 1843, the Japanese had issued an edict forbidding the return of any Japanese shipwrecked sailors in vessels other than those of the Dutch or the Chinese. This was because they suspected ulterior motives on the part of the Americans (as in the case of the *Morrison* in 1837 and the *Manhattan* at a later date) who attempted to discharge what seemed to be but a humanitarian duty. But, apart from such things as this, many circumstances were conspiring together to make American intervention for the reopening of Japan a certainty. After the American treaty with China, in 1844, the United States Minister, Mr. Caleb Cushing, was given "full power" to make overtures to the Japanese authorities for a similar arrangement. In this there was no suggestion of a desire for political advantage, but merely the wish to protect the American whalers who, after 1820, had begun to be numerous in the northern waters of Japan.

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[12] C. W. King, *The Claims of Malaysia*, or *The Voyage of the Morrison*.

It was in line with this wish that, in 1845, Mr. Zadoc Pratt, Congressman for New York, urged the sending of an embassy to Japan and Korea, even advising hostile action in the event of a refusal. So, in 1846, Commodore Biddle was dispatched with instructions to secure communication with the Emperor. So far was he from succeeding that, after ten tedious days of waiting, the Commodore received an unsigned and undated letter requesting him to leave the harbor of Yedo at once and to refrain from returning. It is said also that a gentle push from a Japanese soldier hastened his retreat from the junk on which he had been awaiting an answer. Mr. Everett, of the United States Legation at Macao, wrote to the Secretary of State at Washington that Biddle's attempt had "placed the subject in a rather less favorable position than it stood before."

While Biddle was at Yedo, though unknown to him, there were quite a few American sailors held in some form of durance as spies, or for attempts to escape from the islands. In addition to the shipwrecked survivors of the *Ladoga* and the *Lawrence* there was the famous Ranald McDonald of Astoria, who may, with good reason, be regarded as the first American resident in Japan. He was the son of a Scotsman and an Indian woman, who, when off the coast of Japan, had insisted on being put ashore in a small boat. He was, of course, imprisoned, but became, nevertheless, the first teacher of English to a few Japanese who sought his help. His "cage" at Nagasaki is said to have been a "house of reception, lit with wax candles on low square stands. Men of all orders came to see and talk with the first teacher of English in Japan."

To rescue these, as well as to repair the failure of Biddle, Commander Glynn was sent early in 1849. After some preliminary difficulties, during which the Japanese made some threats of an offensive demonstration, the prisoners were delivered up to the American ship, the *Preble*. On returning to the United States, Commander Glynn strongly advised the government to press further for the establishment of intercourse with Japan, in the interests of civilization as well as of American commerce. He pleaded further that this should be carried out by "naval officers of tact". and that the proper steps should be taken to conciliate the Dutch and to allay the suspicions of the British. It was in consequence of this appeal, as well as in accordance with the personal policy of President Fillmore, that Commodore Aulick was sent in June, 1851, to obtain from Japan the threefold right to take off shipwrecked sailors, to obtain supplies for the ships, and to trade at one or more of the Japanese ports. Aulick apparently was not one of the "naval officers of tact," for within the year he was recalled.[13]

But the plan was by no means given up. The settlement of the Oregon question and the acquisition of California had made more important than ever the prestige of American commerce on the Pacific. Pressure, from being spasmodic and occasional, was becoming continuous. The Yedo Government must have come to realize the shadow of impending change. The presence of a French vessel at the Ryukyu Islands and the letters of the King of Holland in 1847 and in 1849, advising the opening of the ports, had been disturbing enough. Now it was the persistent effort of the United States which had to be reckoned with. The final blow, following upon which the long-closed doors were to be thrown open to the world, came in 1853, when Commodore M. C. Perry was appointed to take up the unfinished task of Aulick. The story of this epoch-making adventure we give in the ensuing chapter.

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[13] *See* J. M. Callahan, *American Relations in the Pacific and the Far East;* Payson J. Treat, *Early Diplomatic Relations between the United States and Japan.*

CHAPTER XXIV

THE REOPENING OF JAPAN (1853-1854)

The first coming of Perry

Commodore Matthew Calbraith Perry, who on July 7, 1853, entered the Bay of Uraga on his memorable mission, has been called "the last executor of Columbus," as the man destined to pick up the broken thread of westward expansion and carry it on to the Orient. He had with him on this first visit 560 men in two steam frigates, the *Susquehanna* and the *Mississippi,* and two sloops of war, the *Plymouth* and the *Saratoga.* In the excited imagination of Kyoto the number was swollen to a total of a hundred ships and a hundred thousand men. Perry's mission was to use persuasion, if possible, but there can be little doubt that in the last resort he was prepared to use force in order to achieve his object. That this was the current impression among those Americans who did not either ignore or ridicule the expedition is plain from the following quotation from the *New York Herald* of the time: "The Japanese expedition, according to a Washington correspondent, is to be merely a hydrographical survey of the Japanese coast. The 32-pounders are to be used merely as measuring instruments in the triangulations; the cannon-balls are for procuring the base lines. If any Japanese is foolish enough to put his head in the way of these meteorological instruments, of course nobody will be to blame but himself if he should get hurt."[1] So again the London *Punch* puts it: "Perry must open the Japanese ports, even if he has to open his own." The general tendency, however, at least in America, was to deal with the matter indifferently or ironically.

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[1] *See* I. Nitobe, *The Japanese Nation,* p. 280.

Dr. Edward Everett Hale wrote: "The funeral of Bill Poole or the filibustering operations in the Gulf of Mexico have (naturally) awakened more interest among the people than has the opening, by peaceful diplomacy, of the Italy of the East to the intercourse of the world." Dr. Nitobe says: "Looking through a number of newspapers and periodicals of the time, I am struck with the absence of public sympathy covering an enterprise of which the United States can be so nobly and justly proud."[2] A Philadelphia paper reported, through its Washington correspondent: "There is no money in the Treasury for the conquest of the Japanese Empire, and the Administration will hardly be disposed to pursue such a romantic notion." Only two days before the sailing of Perry, the *Baltimore Sun* said of the expedition: "It will sail about the same time with Rufus Porter's aërial ship."

Nevertheless, Perry did sail, with his formidable fleet and with instructions which are sufficiently clear. It was to be impressed upon the Japanese that the mission was one of peace. The United States were quite independent of the British who had so recently waged war upon the neighboring Empire of China. All that was wanted was friendship, commerce, the humane treatment of shipwrecked sailors, access to coal and provisions. As to the treatment of sailors, President Fillmore's letter affirmed: "We are very much in earnest about this." Between the two visits a new administration came into power at Washington, and the new President, Mr. Pierce, thought it necessary to send, through his Secretary of the Navy, an additional warning to the effect that peaceful negotiation was all that was intended.

When Perry presented his letter, which was addressed by President Fillmore to the Emperor, the Shogun *Iyeyoshi* and his minister, *Abe Masashiro*, upon whom the weight of decision most immediately lay, found themselves in a sad dilemma. Against all Tokugawa tradition, Iyeyoshi decided to call a meeting of the feudatory princes. The court at Kyoto, more consistent, but less well informed as to the extent of the danger, appealed to the gods of the various shrines, as in the old days of the Mongol invasion. In the case of the Shogun, action of some kind was plainly imperative and that immediately, even though it disregarded the opinion of the daimyo and the court officials. So, once again in flagrant disregard of all Tokugawa precedent, the Americans were allowed to land and leave their letter, instead of transmitting it through the usual Dutch channels from Nagasaki. It is clear that the Shogun's ministers felt the necessity a very humiliating one, but there was no help for it, and greater concessions were to follow. Dr. S. Wells Williams, who had come with the expedition as interpreter, was well warranted in writing in his journal of July 14, 1853: "This closed the eventful day, one which will be a date to be noted in the history of Japan, one on which the key was put into the lock and a beginning made to do away with the long seclusion of the nation." [3] It is, therefore, fitting that the site of the landing should be marked as it is by an obelisk with an inscription contributed by no less a man than Prince Ito.

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[2] Nitobe, *op. cit.*, p. 281.

Perry was well advised in not pressing for an immediate answer. He sailed away to his winter quarters in China, where, owing to the T'aiping rebellion, the presence of American ships was warmly welcomed. He had promised to return early in the spring and the promise was only one of the many anxieties left with the Bakufu. Eight days after Perry's departure on July 27, 1853, the Shogun Iyeyoshi died and the succession of Iyesada, to whom we shall refer again presently, did nothing to allay the consternation of the government. Beacon fires flamed from hilltop to hilltop, yet, to those who knew, the defensive power of the Empire was at the lowest ebb. And, while the expectation of Perry's "Black Ships" was heavy upon them, the Russian Admiral Putiatin was on his way with the double purpose of watching the Americans and of demanding a commercial treaty of his own. Moreover, the French frigate *Constantine* was also in the neighborhood, and who could say how many other eagles were gathering for their share in the prey?

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[3] S. Wells Williams, "A Journal of the Perry Expedition." *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan,* 1910.

Iyesada (1853-1858)

As we have seen, the Shogun Iyeyoshi escaped from his perplexities by an opportune demise, but his successor, even with the help of Abe Masahiro, was in no way better fitted to deal with the embarrassing situation. Iyesada was a kind of semi-idiot, a "witling," as Brinkley calls him. He had been selected for office against the strongly expressed desire of many for Keiki, the very capable representative of the Mito branch of the Tokugawa family. But Keiki's tendencies were towards liberalism and the reception of the foreigners, so the degenerate son of Iyeyoshi was preferred. It is possible, of course, that the personality of the Shogun now counted for little in any event, as the struggle was really between principles which were gradually being set in battle array one over against the other.

After Perry's departure for the winter it was plain that there were three parties in evidence. There was the liberal party, now represented by the Shogun's ministers, prepared perforce to make a treaty with the foreigner. There was, secondly, the party of compromise, prepared to yield temporarily in order to obtain a respite for the purpose of providing a more adequate national defense. There was, lastly, the chauvinistic party, with its slogan, *"Son O, jo i."* ('Revere the Emperor; expel the barbarian'). Hasty efforts were indeed being made everywhere and by all parties to remedy the evils which had accrued through long immunity from war. Forts were built, the old edict of Iyesada against shipbuilding rescinded, cannon cast from the bells of the temples, books on military science sought for high and low. But the ministers of Iyesada knew all the while, as the other parties did not, the hopelessness of resistance and, even before the return of Perry, they had chosen their policy, whatever the "patriots" might say about it at Kyoto.

The Treaty of Kanagawa

Commodore Perry returned on February 13, 1854, with greatly increased forces. Eventually he found himself in command of ten ships and two thousand men. It did not take long now to establish such contact with the government as to bring about the desired result. The first meeting was appointed for March 8. It is amusing to note that in landing, the American officers in anticipation of a substantial feast took their knives and forks with them. They resented greatly the "flimsy banquet" which gave them no opportunity to use these weapons. On March 31, a day forever memorable in the history of the Pacific, Japan gave her adhesion, through the Bakufu, to the "first formal treaty with any western country." The Commodore was evidently very much possessed with the importance of the occasion and showed a certain histrionic ability to utilize the opportunity. When he landed at Yokohama for the ceremony, first went two gigantic negroes carrying the American flag; then followed the Commodore and his officers in full uniform; after these came the band playing "Yankee Doodle"; and lastly were the sailors with naked cutlasses guarding the presents. Perry may be excused for being a little rhetorical at the time, but his declaration that "if the Japanese came to the United States, they would find the navigable waters of the country free to them, and that they would not be debarred even from the gold-fields of California," does not to-day have about it the ring of an inspired prediction.

The *Treaty of Kanagawa* contains twelve articles, of which the principal provided for the hospitable treatment of shipwrecked sailors, the provisioning, under certain circumstances, of foreign ships, and the use of the two ports of Shimoda and Hakodate, "the two worst harbors in the country." In the exchange of courtesies which followed, we find mentioned a long list of presents to the Emperor, Empress, and Princes. They include much Madeira, whisky, champagne, and perfumery, but also such more generally useful articles as books, telegraph wire, model engines, agricultural implements, charts, clocks, stoves, etc., down to rifles, revolvers, and swords.[4] Griffis asserts that the Emperor never saw his presents, as in 1872 they were still "lying in mildew, rust and neglect" in the ancient home of the Tokugawas.

When Perry sailed away with his ships there was great commotion in Japan, but few people outside realized that a new era had commenced for the whole of the Oriental world.

Results of the Treaty of Kanagawa

The American treaty, negotiated by Perry, was speedily followed by the signing of a similar treaty by Admiral Stirling at Nagasaki on behalf of Great Britain, October 31, 1854. A like arrangement was made with Russia on February 7 of the next year and one with Holland on January 30, 1856. The only change made in these was the substitution of the open ports, Nagasaki and Shimoda in the English treaty for Shimoda and Hakodate in the others. As these treaties, however, did not provide for any extension of commerce, the United States Government entrusted the securing of a commercial treaty to its first Consul-General for Japan, *Mr. Townsend Harris,* who, as provided by the Kanagawa Treaty, was permitted to take up his residence in Japan, August, 1856.

The story of Mr. Harris' labors is, Mr. Longford writes, one of "marvellous tact and patience, of steady determination and courage, and straightforward uprightness in every respect." Dr. Nitobe also bears witness as follows: "A man of stern rectitude and gentlest powers of persuasion, he, indeed, more than any other, deserves the epithet of benefactor: because in all his dealings with us, the weaker party, he never took advantage of our ignorance, but formulated a treaty with the strictest sense of justice." Harris began his work with the Bakufu government at Shimoda, and by June, 1857, had secured the grant of the treaty requested. But, as delays were constantly occurring, the Consul-General journeyed to Yedo and, after a remarkable display of tactful persistency, and possibly some hint as to the lessons to be learned from the contemporary operations of the British in China, succeeded in getting the treaty signed on July 29, 1858. By this important document Kanagawa and Nagasaki were to be opened from July 4, 1859, Niigata from January 1, 1860, and Hyogo (Kobe) from January 1, 1863. Yedo and Osaka were likewise to be opened for residence and trade; the "trampling on the cross" and other enactments hostile to Christianity were to be abolished; the principle of extraterritoriality, whereby Americans were to be tried in their own consular courts, was conceded; Americans were permitted to move freely in the neighborhood of the open ports in a space of about twenty-five miles, and to have, in the regions open to them, the extension of religious tolerance; a tariff was fixed by treaty; and the importation of opium was prohibited. The United States, at the same time, offered to sell to Japan ships of war, steamers, and arms, and to lend officers and artisans for instruction in the various arts, including of course, that of war. The treaty, with its somewhat galling implication of Japanese inferiority, was destined to remain in force many years. One modification was tacitly permitted. The merchants from outside were in such a hurry to enter the ports that Yokohama was occupied for business while the diplomats were arranging for their settlement at Kanagawa. Shimoda was closed within a few months of the signing of the treaty.

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[4] Williams, *op. cit.,* pp. 145 ff.

It was, of course, necessary, if the treaty was to be strictly legal, for the Emperor's consent to be gained, and it was while efforts in this direction were being made that certain important political changes were made. The minister, *Hotta Masahiro,* who tried in vain to overcome the reluctance of the Emperor Komei, resigned and was succeeded by the famous statesman who is generally known as *Ii-Kamon-no-Kami.* This was the man fated to endure, and suffer for, the odium incurred by making terms with the foreigner. At this stage, too, occurred the death of the "physically incompetent" Shogun Iyesada, "with or without medicine." It did not escape the notice of the Japanese that on the occasion of each of the treaty-signings the event was coincident with the death of the Shogun who was held officially responsible.

Iyemochi (1858-1866)

The accession of the new Shogun was preceded by a sharp conflict at Kyoto over the succession. The desire of most men was for *Keiki* (Yoshinobu), son of Nariaki of Mito, and already a man of matured convictions. But it was this, together with the fear of his liberalizing tendencies, which threw the influence of the court party into the scales in favor of Iyemochi, the thirteen-year-old son of Nariyuki, of the Kii branch of the Tokugawa family. So Iyemochi became the fourteenth Tokugawa Shogun, with Ii Kamon-no-Kami as his Tairo, or prime minister.

The first important business was to carry through the provisions of the treaty of 1858, which had, of course, been followed up by similar treaties made with Great Britain, through Lord Elgin; Russia, through Putiatin; France, through Baron de Gros; and also with Prussia and Holland.

In consequence of the British treaty Mr. (afterwards Sir) *Rutherford Alcock* arrived in the following spring as the first British diplomatic representative. Lord Elgin has recorded the impression made by his own visit to Japan as "a green spot in the desert of my mission to the East." He adds: "One feels as if the position of a *daimyo* in Japan might not be a bad one, with two or three million of vassals; submissive but not servile, because there is no contradiction between their sense of fitness and their position."[5]

The experience of Sir Rutherford Alcock, as given in his *Three Years in Japan,* hardly bears out this sanguine opinion, as we shall see a little later.[6]

The first foreign missions

One interesting result of the treaties, in the way of new departure, was the resolve of the Shogunal government to send missions abroad to foreign nations, bearing copies of the epoch-making documents. The first of these missions visited the United States in 1860, in the last year of President Buchanan, and has been but lightly touched upon in the histories. The envoys and their suite came in the U. S. S. *Powhatan,* and at the same time came the Japanese steamship *Kanrin Maru,* under Captain Katsu, the organizer of the modern Japanese navy. Landing at San Francisco on March 9, the envoys were warmly received, the Board of Supervisors of the city taking occasion to express "the earnest wish that the amicable relations happily existing between the Imperial Government of Japan and the United States of America and their people, may be perpetuated and productive of great and mutual advantages."

From San Francisco the envoys went to Panama and thence to Washington where they were entertained at the Willard Hotel and, on May 17, received by the President and Secretary Cass. The diary of Murakami, one of the envoys, is full of amused and interested appreciation of all the new things to which they were introduced, from "the group dance of both sexes" (ball) at Washington to the presentation of a handsome watch to each by the Walton Company of New York.[7]

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[5] R. P. Porter, *Rise of a Modern Power,* pp. 102, 103.

[6] R. Alcock, *The Capital of the Tycoon.*

The mission to Great Britain and other European countries was dispatched more than a year later, leaving Yokohama in H. B. M. S. *Odin* on January 23, 1862.

Domestic stirrings

Before we note the direct results of the coming of the foreigner through the new commercial treaties it is important to set down a few results which were indirect, such as appear in the quickened desire of the Shogunate and of Japanese individuals to defend themselves against foreign aggression by the use of foreign learning. It was plain that the stirrings of a new springtide were in the air, and Japanese, especially those in contact with the newly opened ports, were anxious to awake to whatever new opportunities an enlightened patriotism might offer.

From 1855 onward the government was taking steps, through a Translation Bureau, and through the establishment of a school of foreign languages, to meet the new situation. The steps came but slowly and at intervals, and it was not till 1862 that the Shogun's government itself sent abroad students for instruction in foreign lands. Some went to Holland, to learn navigation, among them *Enomoto,* afterwards Viscount and Minister of the Navy; some went to study medicine, and others law. The Satsuma clan sent some students abroad and a few, such as *Ito* and *Inouye,* went on their own account, in defiance of the law. The Shogunate also took some steps to secure the presence of foreign instructors, from France for the army, from Great Britain for the navy, and so on.

But all these official movements were inferior in importance to some which came from individual initiative. Two or three of these must be mentioned.

In 1836 was born *Yukichi Fukuzawa,* known later as the

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[7] H. H. Gowen, "The First Japanese Mission to the United States," *Washington Historical Quarterly,* January, 1925.

Sage of Mita. Very early he began to show interest in foreign learning and in 1854 went to Nagasaki to study Dutch. Later on he realized the superior value of English, but could find no one to instruct him, so it was with the aid of an English-Dutch dictionary that he finally acquired a knowledge of the language. In 1858, he laid the foundations of Keio University in the compound of the Okudaira mansion, but the name was not given until 1867. Mr. Fukuzawa visited the United States in 1860, in attendance upon the first mission to that country, and returned to give his life to the cause of western education in Japan. The present writer, in 1923, found a great University with its 20 buildings and its library of 100,000 volumes. Very interesting, too, was the little wooden building now famous as the first place in Japan in which public speaking was permitted and taught. But most interesting of all was to meet the present President, son of the illustrious founder, and his own son, preparing to follow in the steps of his father and grandfather.

Another great pioneer of western education whose inspiration dates from the time is *Joseph Niishima,* founder of the first Christian University in Japan, which is now known as Doshisha, in the city of Kyoto. The story of the samurai boy, born in Tokyo in 1843, and becoming so obsessed with the idea of foreign learning that he escaped at last on an American schooner lying at Hakodate in 1864, and the subsequent career of the young man in the United States till he was able to return with blessing to his native land, is one of the great romances of modern history. A visit to-day to Doshisha certainly provokes the quotation: *"Si monumentum requiris, circumspice."* [8]

Still another life forces itself upon the attention irresistibly, that of another martyr of the new Japan, *Yoshida Shoin,* born in 1830. Here we have, not a dependent of the

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[8] *See* J. D. Davis, *Life of Joseph Niishima.*

Tokugawas, but one burning with desire to see the Emperors enjoying their ancient status. One of the earliest stories of him is of his making a model in mud of the Emperor's palace, saying that he was repairing the desolated imperial court as had done Oda Nobunaga of old. As a boy of eleven, he gave lectures before his clan lord and at sixteen was much concerned over the menace of the foreigners. At twenty-one he lectured on coast defense, but reckoned most on getting away from the country to study. He called a meeting of friends and wrote down in large characters the words: "I have a purpose and have determined to carry it out, even though Mt. Fuji crumbles and the rivers are exhausted." Five times he attempted to get to Perry's ships as a stowaway, and five times he failed. Then he began writing and strikingly anticipated some of the later Japanese policies when he advocated the opening up of Hokkaido, the taking of Kamchatka and the Kurile Islands, the annexation of the Ryukyu Islands, the payment of tribute by the Koreans, the taking of Formosa and a part of Manchuria. His school was really in the interest of overthrowing the Tokugawas and eventually he was imprisoned by Ii Kamon-no-Kami and on several charges condemned to death. He wrote a pathetic little book, *The Record of a Baffled Spirit,* and on October 25, 1859, "by the hand of the headsman, his refined and burning and reform-loving spirit was severed from his five-foot body, and caused to ascend to the high heaven." *The Record of a Baffled Spirit* begins with the poem:

Although my body is cast out to decay,
  On the Musashi plain,
Yet my Japanese spirit will remain.[9]

The erection of a monument to Yoshida Shoin on October

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[9] *See* H. E. Coleman, "Shoin Yoshida," *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan,* September, 1917.

18, 1909, by his clan shows that his faith was not in vain.

For a few months after Harris' success in obtaining the Commercial Treaty of 1858 it "rained treaties," but there was much difference between obtaining the signatures to the treaties and carrying them into effect.

The foreigners

The first difficulty came over the settlement of Kanagawa, already alluded to. The treaty had designated Kanagawa, but the traders were in such a hurry that, in spite of the diplomats, it was Yokohama which was occupied. Mr. Rutherford Alcock considered this partly due to the connivance of the Japanese Government, which he suspected of desiring to make another Deshima of the foreign residency. A sign of the haste with which Yokohama was seized upon is (or was) visible in the odd numbering of the houses. The first Englishman who came called his place No. 1, and the next, wherever he settled, followed with No. 2, and so on.

The foreigners who came were of all descriptions. Many of them were needy adventurers who desired only to take advantage of whatever opportunity presented itself for self-enrichment. The worst illustration of this came to light in what is known as the "Gold Currency" question.[10] It was, in part, a renewal of the old difficulty which Hideyoshi had encountered in the case of the Portuguese. In the trade regulations appended to the treaty it had been required that the Japanese should change foreign bullion "weight for weight, for the native current coin." Now as the relative value of gold and silver in Japan was only three to one, and in the rest of the world fifteen to one, it was plain that men could buy silver in China, steam over to Japan and make a certain profit of 200 per cent on every trip. The rage for financial operations of this sort grew rapidly and even American naval officers threw over their commissions to engage in the lucrative business of exchange. Japan was rapidly being denuded of her gold, before it was possible for the government to intervene, stop the export of gold, and readjust the domestic ratio of gold and silver. The question, however, did little to increase the love of the Japanese for the intrusive foreigner. So, while the *jo-i* ('barbarian-expelling') party were gaining new influence in Kyoto, the populace was becoming more and more incensed. They had before them not only the shocking conduct of the barbarians, but also the visible displeasure of the gods. Yedo had been visited by a great earthquake in 1855; a terrible fire followed in which 100,000 persons lost their lives; great storms swept over the eastern coasts; and a general epidemic of fire, pestilence, and flood terrorized the land. Nature herself seemed protesting against the presence of the foreigner.

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[10] Alcock, *op. cit.*, I, 251 ff.; J. Longford, *Story of Old Japan*, pp. 327 ff.

It was perhaps too early for the Japanese to make the proper distinction, but it must be remembered that there were other foreigners attracted by the reopening of the ports than those who had come in the service of mammon. The resurrection of the Christian religion in Japan dates from the year of the Commercial Treaty. "The discovery of the Christians," already referred to, proved an incentive to the sending of new evangelists. The first came from the United States in the persons of Rev. J. Liggins and Rev. C. M. Williams (afterwards Bishop of Yedo), of the Episcopal Church. Soon after followed Dr. Hepburn, of the American Presbyterian Board, and Dr. Verbeck, of the Dutch Reformed Church of America. Roman Catholic missionaries also renewed their acquaintance with the country in 1859, and others soon followed. Persecution once again raised its head in the wake of propaganda, and several thousand Japanese Christians were arrested and deported from their native villages. It was not till 1873 that the persecution of Christians came definitely to an end.

Death of the Tairo

A repercussion of the hostility felt at this time against the foreigner is to be seen in the murder of the talented and courageous minister of the Shogun, who had been responsible for the carrying out of the terms of the treaties. On March 24, 1860, Ii Kamon-no-Kami, surrounded by his retainers, was on his way to the Shogun's palace, when he was suddenly attacked by what appeared to be a band of ronins. The assailants were really the emissaries of the Lord of Mito, who, a little later, received the bloody head of his illustrious victim. All who took part in the attack were slain or committed seppuku shortly afterwards. The murder cast a shadow over the capital, as Mr. Alcock put it, "a shadow of doubt and uneasy anticipation." But it would not appear that as yet the abolishing of the Shogunate was seriously contemplated. The assassins of the Tairo solemnly declared: "Our conduct does not indicate the slightest enmity to the Bakufu. We swear before heaven and earth, gods and men, that our action proceeds entirely from our hope of seeing the Shogunate resume its proper form, and abide by the holy and wise will of the Emperor. We hope to see our national glory manifested in the expulsion of foreigners from the land."[11]

The fear of foreigners was certainly more conspicuous than mere hatred of the Bakufu. Men from the outside world were multiplying apace and the poor bewildered Shogun, with his ministers, had no control over the unruly elements. Twice the British legation was attacked by ronin at midnight, and considerable bloodshed resulted. The gloomy forebodings of 1860 were deepened at the beginning of 1861 by the murder of *Mr. Heuskin*, the Dutch secretary to the American legation, on January 15. The situation was so serious that the representatives of Great Britain, France, Prussia, and Holland decided to move from

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[11] James Murdoch, *History of Japan*, III, 701. A statue to Ii Kamon-no-Kami was erected at Yokohama in 1909.

Yedo and retire temporarily to Yokohama. Only Mr. Townsend Harris remained, he being convinced of the real desire of the Shogunal government to give whatever protection was possible. The new attack on the British legation and the wounding of Mr. Oliphant, shortly after the return of the ministers to Yedo, prompted the poor Shogun to send an autograph letter to Queen Victoria begging that the opening of the ports might be postponed.

Then, as a last straw, came, in September, 1862, what is known as the Namamigi incident, or the *Richardson* affair. Three English merchants, with a lady, riding from Yokohama towards Yedo, came upon the procession of the Satsuma chief, with some eight hundred of his retainers. The foreigners drew up their horses to the roadside but did not dismount, as was customary when a great lord was passing by. Mr. Richardson was immediately attacked and slain and his companions, severely wounded, escaped only by precipitate flight.

Demand was immediately made for reparation and, as the Shogun was unable to enforce his authority against so powerful a clan as the Satsuma, a British squadron bombarded *Kagoshima,* the capital of the clan. A typhoon arose during the bombardment and, as the forts were still firing when the ships drew off, some Japanese claimed the whole affair as a victory, especially as the assassins were never given up.

The "barbarian-expelling" party at Kyoto took so much heart out of the situation that dates were actually fixed for the expulsion of all foreigners in June, 1863. One powerful clan, the *Choshu,* undertook to precipitate the clash and fired upon American, French, and Dutch ships which disregarded the blockade imposed upon the Choshu coast in the neighborhood of the Straits of Shimonoseki. The powers concerned joined with the British to teach what was considered a much needed lesson. The forts at Shimonoseki were bombarded and reduced, and a heavy indemnity demanded from the clan. As, however, the clan refused to pay, the debt had to be transferred to the Bakufu, now at its wits' end. The indemnity was far in excess of the damage inflicted, and the last installment of the three million dollars was paid only in 1875. It was equally apportioned between the four powers, but the United States returned its share of $785,000, as the Americans had sustained no damage, and the small chartered ship, with but twenty bluejackets, which assisted in the bombardment, incurred for the nation little or no expense.

The Hyogo demonstration

The bombardment of Shimonoseki seemed at first to have increased the prestige of the Shogun's government. Probably it had not been undertaken without some assurance of the Bakufu's tacit approval. But the payment of the indemnity, assumed by the government, was a serious and unforeseen difficulty. Mr. Robert Pruyn, who had succeeded Townsend Harris as the American representative, was disposed to prefer the opening of another port to the payment of any indemnity, since the latter (he maintained) would really be paid by the foreign merchants in enhanced burdens laid upon commerce. He had, moreover, already seen the importance of obtaining the Emperor's ratification of the treaties which had been negotiated, and had even proposed steps for securing this prior to his resignation in 1865. About the same time the British representative, Sir Rutherford Alcock, was rewarded for the success of the Shimonoseki affair by promotion to Peking. He had acted contrary to the instructions then on their way from England, but success was regarded as atoning for this unintentional sin. His place was taken by one of the most interesting and dominating personalities of the time, Sir Harry Parkes, whose long experience in China had added much assurance to his natural powers of leadership. From the moment of his arrival, Parkes set the pace in the policy of the Powers. Known as an exponent of the "gunboat policy," he persuaded the foreign representatives, on the strength of very general instructions, to countenance a naval demonstration off Hyogo for the purpose of compelling the ratification of the treaties by the Emperor. It was desired also to secure the regulation of the tariff and the opening of the ports of Hyogo and Osaka. It was a somewhat high-handed action, and the joint treaty of June 25, 1865, which followed the Japanese acceptance of the foreign terms, has been termed by Tyler Dennett "one of the most thoroughly un-American treaties ever ratified by the American Government." Nevertheless, it settled the vexed question as to imperial responsibility and, of course, it had considerable bearing on the domestic changes which were soon to appear.[12]

The last of the Tokugawas

In September, 1866, the Shogun died and the previously rejected heir to the thankless office, *Keiki,* or Yoshinobu, now became the inevitable occupant. He was by no means keen about it, though he used his brief hour of authority to send men abroad for instruction and to import instructors for the military services. Six months later, February 3, 1867, the anti-foreign Emperor, Komei, died, giving place to the young boy, *Mutsuhito,* who was destined to become the illustrious *Meiji Tenno.* The feeling was gaining strength that the time was ripening for an extrication from political complication by a return to the old ways of Japan, as laid down by the Taikwa Code.

Already, in 1865, the two great Satsuma vassals, *Saigo Takamori* and *Okubo Toshimichi,* had entered into a secret arrangement with *Kido Takayoshi,* a vassal of the prince of Nagato, for the abolition of the Shogunate. The accession of Keiki had made it possible for such a proposition to be directly made. So, from the hands of the Tosa daimyo, Keiki received the invitation on the part of the feudal lords to restore to the Emperor his former authority. The Shogun did not long delay his reply. After taking counsel with others, he dispatched the following letter bearing date November 3, 1867:

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[12] *See* Tyler Dennett, *Americans in Eastern Asia,* Chap. XXI; Payson J. Treat, *Diplomatic Relations between the United States and Japan,* Chap. XI.

> A retrospect of the various changes through which the Empire has passed shows us that after the decadence of monarchical authority, the power passed into the hands of Ministers of State; and that, owing to the civil wars of the period Hogen, 1156-59, and Heiji, 1159-60, the administrative power fell into the hands of the military class. My ancestor received more confidence and favor from the Court than any of his predecessors, and his descendants have succeeded him for more than two hundred years. Though I fill the same office, almost all the acts of the administration are far from perfect, and I confess it with shame that the present unsatisfactory condition of affairs is due to my shortcomings and incompetence. Now that foreign intercourse becomes daily more extensive, unless the government is directed from one central authority, the foundations of the state will fall to pieces. If, however, the old order of things be changed, and the administrative authority be restored to the Imperial Court, and if national deliberations be conducted on an extensive scale, and the Imperial decision be secured, and if the Empire be supported by the efforts of the whole people, then the Empire will be able to maintain its rank and dignity among the nations of the earth. Although I have allowed all the feudal lords to state their views without reserve, yet it is, I believe, my highest duty to realize this ideal by giving up entirely my rule over this land.[13]

The Emperor's reply came, in terse enough form, under the date of November 12: "Tokugawa Keiki's proposal to restore the administrative authority to the Imperial Court is accepted by the Emperor."

To his own supporters Keiki wrote: "It appears to me that the laws cannot be maintained in the face of the daily extension of our foreign relations, unless the Government be conducted by one head, and I propose therefore to surrender the whole power into the hands of the Imperial Court. This is the best I can do for the interests of the Empire."

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[13] For those and the following quotations, *see* W. W. McLaren, "Japanese Government Documents," *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan,* May, 1914.

A few days later an imperial edict ushered in a new epoch of the history of Japan in the following terms:

> Now that Tokugawa Keiki has restored the administrative authority to the Court, the Court directly controls the Imperial polity, quite free from bias, laying great stress on public opinion, and keeping all undisturbed those good customs and usages preserved under the Tokugawa régime. The clans shall be quite bold to fight for justice, on the one hand, and to strive for the augmentation of the glory of the Empire on the other.

CHAPTER XXV

THE BEGINNINGS OF MEIJI

Conflict with the ex-Shogun

The opening of the new era, which commences officially with January 1, 1868, was shadowed by an unfortunate conflict between the adherents of the ex-Shogun and the clans whose influence had brought about his resignation. These clans, known as the *Sat-cho-to,* from the alliance of Satsuma, Choshu, and Tosa, were suspicious lest the Tokugawas should still, under the guise of facilitating the transition to the new order, be determined to reassert control of the government. The Tokugawas and their friends, on their part, were chagrined at being passed over in the organization of the imperial bureaucracy. The new government had been hastily organized, with the boy Emperor at its head, a cabinet with premier, vice-premier, and seven departmental chiefs, and a body of councilors. But the posts were well-nigh monopolized by the Sat-cho-to daimyo, and no Tokugawa found a place. As Dr. McLaren puts it: "When the Shogun resigned, it was no part of his intention to retire completely from the administration of the affairs of the country. But it soon became apparent to him that, under the new régime of direct government by the Court, the power was being monopolized by the western clans, especially Satsuma and Choshu." [1]

Hence, when Keiki's retirement to Osaka was announced, dated January 7, 1868, a great protest arose from the clan and the ex-Shogun, out of loyalty to his followers, was practically forced to march to Kyoto with them. The Aizu samurai had already been dismissed from their hereditary position as palace guards on January 3, and now insisted upon accompanying Keiki to Kyoto with an escort of ten thousand men. This formidable train was viewed by the Sat-cho-to as implying an attempt at premeditated rebellion. Accordingly, a force of Satsuma and Choshu men, estimated at not exceeding fifteen hundred, interposed itself and fought a three-days' battle at *Fushimi* which ended on January 30 in the complete defeat of the ex-Shogun's supporters, a result due, however, in large part to the treachery of the Tsu clan. This battle of Fushimi is described by Longford as "the fifth decisive battle in Japanese history." Keiki, declining the suggestion that he should commit suicide, fled to Osaka, whither his enemies followed and achieved in part the burning of the famous castle. Thence he took ship to Yedo, where, after a few days, he surrendered himself to the government. With unusual magnanimity, his enemies permitted him to retire, first to his estates at Mito and then to Suruga. His followers, however, were not so easily placated. A fierce battle took place in the grounds of the Uyeno temple on July 4, 1868, which was decided against the Tokugawa cause by the troops of Hizen. With matters thus hopeless, the greatest devotion was still manifested towards the defeated cause. The *Biakko Tai,* an association of boys, from fifteen to seventeen years of age, fought bravely to the last. There were even a few women who fought armed with spears. *Admiral Enomoto,* who had, some years before, been sent by the Bakufu to study naval warfare in Holland, took his seven ships from Yedo to Hakodate where he held out for Keiki a year longer. Eventually the gallant sailor was induced to give himself up to save his associates, and the government was generous enough to pardon him, recognizing that his action was the outcome of loyalty to his daimyo.

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[1] W. W. McLaren, "Japanese Government Documents," *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan,* Vol. XLII, Part 1 (1914).

So perished forever the cause of the Tokugawa Shoguns.

Keiki lived for many years the life of a private gentleman and in 1906 was visited by Lord Redesdale, who found in him all the old-time dignity, charm, and good looks.

The period of *Meiji* ('Enlightened Government'), as the new era was entitled, rapidly justified the choice of name.

Reception of the foreign ministers

A definite and conciliatory policy towards foreign nations was inaugurated on February 3, 1868, when the Emperor announced to the various representatives that he had assumed control of domestic and foreign policy and would be pleased to grant them an interview on March 23. The condescension was one which shattered all precedent and naturally created a great deal of excitement. The Dutch and French ministers had obtained their interview when a determined attack was made on the party of Sir Harry Parkes, the British representative. Two men, one an ex-priest, the other a ronin, were assailants. They fought so madly that thirteen men were more or less badly wounded. The Emperor expressed his deep indignation at the outrage and the frustrated interview was consummated two or three days later.

The Charter Oath

The promulgation of the Emperor's Charter Oath on April 17 was due only in part to his intention to conform the government to western usage. There can be little doubt that the clans, not wholly trusting one another's disinterestedness, were anxious to provide safeguards against the rise in the future of autocracies similar to that of the lately deposed Tokugawas. The event, however, is of such importance that the five clauses of the Oath may well be quoted in their entirety:

> 1. A deliberative assembly should be formed and all measures be decided by public opinion.
> 2. The principles of social and political economics should be diligently studied by both the superior and the inferior classes of our people.
> 3. Every one in the community shall be assisted to persevere in carrying out his will for good purposes.

4. All the old, absurd usages of former times should be disregarded and the impartiality and justice displayed in the workings of Nature be adopted as a basis of action.

5. Wisdom and ability should be sought after in all quarters of the world for the purpose of firmly establishing the foundations of the Empire.

"The real importance of the Charter Oath," says Professor Uyehara, "lies in the fact that it was the first step in the determination of the leading statesmen of the period to undertake the national reorganization with the co-operation of the people and adopt Western civilization in order to preserve the independence of the country and free it from foreign aggression."[2]

Organization of Meiji

The movement which ushered in the era of Meiji was called by its initiators, *Fukko* ('the Return to Antiquity'), and, by some more radically inclined, *Isshin* ('the Renovation'). Dr. Hara is undoubtedly right in saying that, while there was much in the movement which was a return to Taikwa, and much which may legitimately be called "Renovation," there is still some excuse for the use of the term "Revolution," employed by the majority of foreigners.[3]

Yet the revolutionary steps taken by the new government were gradual and hesitating. It cannot fail to strike the student that for quite a number of years after the Restoration there was (and in all probability fortunately) an element of opportunism, of patchwork, and even of the haphazard, in the development of constitutional government. In the cabinet the premiership was given to a royal prince, *Arisugawa,* and two imperial princes and five court nobles were heads of the seven departments. But among the office-holders and councilors were those who looked forward rather than backward. *Okubo* and *Kido* were prominent, and among the younger men were the Choshu clansmen, *Ito* and *Inouye,* who had escaped to Europe and now returned to share in the new order. Had the martyred Yoshida been able to see how many of his old pupils were now at the helm, he must surely have smiled a smile of content.

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[2] G. E. Uyehara, *Political Development of Japan,* p. 57.

[3] K. Hara, *Introduction to the History of Japan,* Chap. XIII.

There was as yet no national army or navy, nor any steady source of income. Hesitating as were some of the early steps in the direction of innovation, some of them failed through neglect to observe that water poured into a narrow-necked bottle will spill rather than fill. In the April of 1869 an attempt was made to convene a deliberative assembly of the feudal chiefs, in order to discuss such subjects as the reform of the land tax, the enactment of a criminal code, the freeing of the eta ('outcasts') from their age-long opprobrium, and the like. The assembly, which was called the *Kogisho,* turned out a complete fiasco and, on October 4, 1870, it was prorogued *sine die,* to be abolished by an imperial rescript of June, 1873. As a specimen of the voting in a body which has been described as "a quiet, peaceful debating society," we find, on the question of the abolition of harakiri, the following result: Ayes, 3, Noes, 300, Not voting, 6.

Yet, apart from the Kogisho, reforms were carried out by the administration which are noteworthy. In the imperial court a large number of obsolete offices and sinecures were suppressed. Of particular importance was the change in November of the imperial capital from Kyoto to Yedo, the capital of the Tokugawa Shoguns. Okubo's suggestion of Osaka as the new capital was rejected. Yedo now became *Tokyo* ('Eastern Capital'), while the venerable city of Kyoto, as some compensation for the desertion, was to be known as *Saigyo* ('Western Capital'). The choice of Yedo was a striking vindication of the strategic judgment of Hideyoshi three hundred years earlier.

Ito once declared that feudalism "stood on thoroughly worm-eaten, though externally lacquered and gilt pillars." Yet, to the reformers of early Meiji, feudalism must have presented a formidable front. It is extremely doubtful whether they were actually conscious at the first that the abolition of feudalism was a *sine qua non* of national unification. The patriotism of the act, whereby a whole class surrendered the privileges of a thousand years, has been frequently commented upon. It is certainly remarkable that what took centuries to accomplish in Europe was in Japan carried through in the course of a few months. It was, however, by no means a general impulse on the part of the daimyo, but primarily the act of the four great daimiates of Satsuma, Choshu, Tosa, and Hizen, inspired by a few men of whom Kido, Okubo, and Saigo were the chief. The rest of the daimyo merely followed the lead of such as these, and out of 276 only 17 declined to act voluntarily. In any case, it was a unique sacrifice, performed in the great cause of national unity. "We reverently offer up," said the memorial, "all our feudal possessions with the prayer that the Imperial Court will enact laws . . . so that a uniform rule may prevail throughout the Empire."

The abolition of feudalism

It was decided that the daimyo should retire on an income of one-tenth of their former revenues, while provision was also made for the pensioning of the great army of retainers. It was on August 29, 1871, that the abolition of the feudal system was actually accomplished. Dr. Griffis speaks of the farewell of the daimyo of Echizen to his 3,000 retainers as "among the most impressive of his life's experiences." By this edict the 400,000 samurai still remained the pensioners of the state. A further edict was promulgated in 1873 offering to commute the pension on the basis of six-years' purchase for those held merely for life. This commutation was rendered compulsory in 1876 and by this date the system of national conscription had been adopted to supersede the old plan of drawing soldiers from a particular class. To carry through the gigantic changes involved in the abolition of feudalism it was necessary to add to the national debt the sum of $165,000,000.

Minor reforms

The only important event of the year 1869 for which no opportunity to mention has hitherto been found was the marriage of the Emperor to the Princess Haru, destined to be for forty-three years the beloved spouse, and for some two years more the survivor of Meiji Tenno, and now one with the spirits of the dead as the *Empress Shoken.* The marriage festivities were marked by a striking accession of loyal feeling on the part of the people and new zest in the cause of reform. What the Emperor wrote in verse was taken by all as representing the profoundest desire of the heart:

Oh, how I wish to make this country inferior to none,
Adopting that which is good, and rejecting that which is bad.

From the beginning of 1870 reforms come thick and fast. A *telegraph* line was opened in that year from Tokyo to Yokohama, and a *railway* projected between the same points which was completed in 1872. The distance was only eighteen miles, but it was a notable beginning. The *postal* system also dates from 1870, and in 1871 it was extended to foreign countries. About the same time *lighthouses* were erected at dangerous points along the coast; a *mint* was established for the new coinage, and the first *newspaper* worthy of the name was printed by a Scotsman named Black. In Tokugawa times, however, there had been occasionally published news-letters containing court news and other happenings. These, printed from crude wooden blocks, were known as *Yomiuri,* that is "sold by hawking about." In social directions an epoch is marked by the emancipation of the eta, and by the revocation of all edicts against Christianity. In the religious field a Bureau of Ecclesiastical Affairs (*Jingi Jimu-kyoku*), as its first act in 1868, separated Shinto from Buddhism and made of the former a kind of state ceremonial. Buddhism remained under proscription until 1872, when the Ecclesiastical Department (*Kyubusho*) recognized both Shinto and Buddhist priests as moral instructors.

As denoting the desire for still wider political outlook it is worth the noting that at this time several distinguished statesmen, including Iwakura, Kido, Okubo, and Ito, left for foreign lands to press the subject of treaty revision. The matter of extraterritoriality and the necessity for accepting a treaty-made tariff had been from the first extremely irritating to Japanese pride.

It should be added that the use of the *Gregorian calendar* was begun on January 1, 1873, although Japanese chronology was still reckoned from the accession of Jimmu Tenno in 660 B.C., and the Chinese system of year periods was retained. A little later, Sunday was set apart as a weekly day of rest.

The Korean question

Korea had always been regarded as in some measure tributary to Japan, on the strength of the legendary exploits of Jingo Kogo, as well as on the ground taken by Hideyoshi. During the Shogunate the Koreans had so far yielded to the claim as to send tribute-bearing envoys to greet in turn the Tokugawa Shoguns. Now the old custom was broken and insult was added to neglect by the declaration of the Koreans that they could not recognize a nation which had turned its back upon the ideals of the Orient.

The relation of Korea to the outside world and her obstinate conservatism are in no respect better illustrated than by a brief summary of her treatment of the Christian missions. Hideyoshi's Christian general, Konishi, had first made Christianity known to Korea by bringing with him on his campaigns Father Cespedes and a Japanese priest as his chaplains. Between this, however, and the first real effort to propagate Christianity there was a wide interval. The first Korean Christian was baptized in Peking in 1784 and this convert, after converting others upon his return home, apostatized under persecution. He nevertheless was put to death with six other converts, and, as Mr. Longford puts it, "marched to death with martyrs but was not a martyr, was beheaded as a Christian but died a renegade." Somehow or other, Christianity continued to spread and, although executions were continuous, it is estimated that there were ten thousand Christians in Korea at the beginning of the Nineteenth Century. The desire to have a vicar-apostolic led to the sending of Brugière from China, but he died within sight of his goal in 1835. His successor from Tatary crossed the frontier through a drainpipe. In 1837 came the first bishop to tread Korean soil, the heroic Imbert. The French priests died as martyrs after torments unspeakable. The persecutors were eternally vigilant. Yet the result was that all heard of Christianity and "from this time Koreans ceased to despise Christians." The first native priest, Andrew Kim, obtained his orders after having been smuggled across to Shanghai. Then came the great persecution of 1866, with its cry, "Hatred to Europeans!" and the torture and death of Christians till the faith was as completely extirpated as human power could ensure. Swords were insufficient, a guillotine was invented which took off twenty-four heads at once, and eight thousand Christians were slain, besides those who perished in the mountains of cold and hunger.

The inability of France, occupied with Prussia in the West, to stop or avenge these massacres makes doubly significant the interposition of Japan. The question of interference, which was raised in 1868, became acute in 1872, when it coincided with the domestic problem of what to do with the disbanded samurai. *Saigo* of Satsuma at once seized the opportunity presented to save the honor of the two-sworded men by an immediate declaration of war. War had indeed been practically decided upon when the propriety of awaiting the return of Iwakura and his party was suggested. The expected envoys returned in September, not only without the coveted revision of the treaties, but strongly impressed with the conviction that Japan had much leeway to make up before she should think of engaging in a foreign war. The debate was long and embittered, and the final verdict against war led to Saigo's retirement to Satsuma, where he began to drill, probably at this time with no serious thought of insurrection, the famous warriors of his redoubtable clan.

Meanwhile, the government proceeded to carry out its plans for conscription. The war cloud seemed quite to have passed over, when trouble arose in *Formosa* on account of the ill-treatment received by some natives of the Ryukyu Islands. The Formosan expedition was a very small affair, but it led to an important international question, since the Ryukyu Islanders had existed for some centuries in a happy state of uncertainty as to whether they were tributary to China or to Japan, or to both. China, of course, now put in her claim, but, through the mediation of Sir Thomas Wade, the matter was finally settled by China's recognizing the Japanese claims to the group and paying the expense of the expedition to Formosa.

Then, once again, the Korean question came to the front. Presuming on the way in which they had got rid of the American squadron which had been sent to open the "Hermit Kingdom" in 1870, the Koreans bumptiously fired upon the Japanese survey ship, *Unyokan*. The following January, 1876, warships and transports under General Kuroda arrived to demand satisfaction. The peninsula kingdom was as helpless as she was proud and, following the example of Japan, in a similar case twenty years earlier, signed a treaty of commerce and conceded the opening of certain ports for trade. Thus, among the early fruits of the reopening of Japan, we have the opening up to the commerce of the world of a kingdom which had hitherto proved obdurate to all the demands of the western world.

Controversy with Russia

For many years Sakhalin had been a bone of contention between Russia and Japan. The march of the Colossus of the North to the country south of the Amur had made plain the strategic importance of an island which up to this time had been undoubtedly Japanese. Russia at first made efforts to gain possession by stimulating the immigration thither of her subjects, but this was countered by the offer of Japan, first, to divide the territory (which was actually done in 1905), or, secondly, to purchase the Russian claims. Opposition, however, was encountered to both plans and no settlement was reached until 1875, when it was decided to concede Sakhalin *in toto* to Russia on condition of Russia's recognition of Japanese sovereignty in the Kuriles (Chishima). The arrangement was, as Captain Brinkley puts it: "the purchase of an area of Japanese territory by Russia, who paid for it with a part of Japan's belongings."

The Satsuma rebellion

It had been for some time evident that trouble was brewing in the southern part of the Empire. Possibly Saigo Takamori had not intended any trial of strength between his clan troops and the newly conscripted army of the nation. But his "school for samurai" could hardly be regarded in any other light than as a menace, especially after the abortive insurrections of Saga in 1874, Kumamoto and Magi in 1876. The Satsuma outbreak when it came, through the enthusiasm of Saigo's pupils sweeping their idol with them into rebellion, was a very serious affair. There were perhaps forty thousand Satsuma men, splendidly drilled and armed, and inspired as well by the chivalrous traditions of their race and class. Yet, although the government had only the raw conscript troops, untested till now in actual combat, the rebellion which began on January 29, 1877, was suppressed before the end of September. Much of the Satsuma strength was wasted in the siege of the old castle of Kumamoto, which had been built by Kato Kiyomasa in the Sixteenth Century. The government had time to collect its forces and to send an expedition into Kyushu with disastrous results to Saigo. The slaughter on each side was prodigious and all the rebel leaders perished either in battle or by their own hands. The new national spirit was severely tested by the campaign, since among those entrusted with the putting down of the revolt were Saigo Tsukumachi, the younger brother of the Satsuma leader, and Admiral Kawamura, also a connection and a Satsuma man. It was the latter who, after the last tragic act, took up the bleeding head of his former friend, washed it, and attended to the rites of burial. The general affection in which Saigo Takamori is still held is shown by the plans for celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of his lamented fate.[4] One important result of the victory, affording some compensation for all the loss entailed, was to give to the newly trained national troops a prestige equal to that of the seasoned clansmen.

First stage of the constitutional movement

To the old-fashioned people of Japan the government seemed at this time to be turning the country upside down in the endeavor to obtain Occidental standards. It was employing Frenchmen and Englishmen and Germans and Americans to teach all things from military science to law and medicine and education. Yet the outside world was still more or less unconvinced as to the reality of the transformation. This comes out sufficiently in the account of Iwakura's mission to Washington in the matter of unequal treaties. The envoys, with their ancient court dress and their wooden shoes in the Washington hotels and the White House, felt themselves the incongruity of the apparel which moved the American cartoonists. They were chagrined when Mr. Hamilton Fish, General Grant's Secretary of State, pointed out the need of credentials before their mission could be recognized. Okubo and Ito had to go all the way back to Japan to obtain these and threatened to commit seppuku if they were not given, a threat which by no means moved the Foreign Minister, Soyeshima. The few references to the mission in the American literature of the time betray little but amusement. Oliver Wendell Holmes used the event to give point to a Presidential election when he wrote:

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[4] *See Trans-Pacific,* April 24, 1926.

> There's a bit of a row
> When we choose our tycoon, and especially now,

though he did also declare:

> The Eagle was always the friend of the Sun.

Walt Whitman's reference was somewhat more appreciative:

> Over the Western sea hither from Nippon come,
> Courteous, the swart-cheek'd two-sworded envoys,
> Leaning back in their open barouches, bare-headed,
> Ride to-day through Manhattan.[5]

In Japan the people were by no means satisfied with the advance made towards constitutional government. Undoubtedly more had been read into the Charter Oath than its framers had intended, since at the time of its promulgation the people, apart from the samurai, had not really been in mind. Now, however, a great popular leader was found in the Tosa statesman, *Itagaki Taisuke,* who had seceded from the government with Saigo over the question of war with Korea. For a time it had been conjectured that the Tosa men might even join in the Satsuma revolt. But Saigo and Itagaki had very different objects in view. The government, it should be recognized, was not really disinclined to parliamentary reform, but considered it necessary to feel its way with caution. Yet, when Okubo was assassinated in May, 1878, by those who sympathized with the fate of Saigo, it was openly stated that he was slain also to promote the cause of popular government. A step forward had already been taken in the creation of a Senate (*Gen-ro-in*) in 1875, but now, within two months of Okubo's death, a further edict announced the formation of elective assemblies for prefectures and cities. This, however, by no means satisfied Itagaki, who proceeded presently to organize the first political party in Japan, known as the *Ji-yu-to* ('Liberal Party'). Then came a rather dramatic change. There had been, in January, 1880, a remarkable demonstration at Osaka, attended by the representatives of twenty-seven associations, and in favor of convoking a national assembly. Taking his cue from this meeting, *Okuma,* the great statesman who now appears prominently for the first time, suddenly decided to go over to the cause of popular representation. Seceding from the cabinet, Okuma, "the Peel of Japan," placed himself before the people as the rival of Japan's "Rousseau," Itagaki, though no difference of principle between them was discernible. Okuma was anxious to have a following of his own. So he created, in the course of a few months, the party known as *Shim-po-to* ('Progressist Party'). This *coup* of Okuma was quickly followed by the issue of an imperial edict, dated October 12, 1881, promising that a national assembly should be called in ten-years' time. So ends the first stage of the movement towards a constitutional government.

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[5] *See* Sydney and Marjorie Greenbie, *Gold of Ophir.*

Party politics (1882-1885)

Popular impatience with the delay in calling the promised national assembly expressed itself in a somewhat turbulent exploitation of the party system. We have already noted the formation of Itagaki's Liberal Party in October, 1881, and of Okuma's Progressist Party in 1882. A little later a new party of Constitutional Imperialists, known as the *Rikken*

Teiseito, was formed, as a conservative reaction against the others. It had a program of restricted franchise, bicameral legislature, and the maintenance of the imperial veto. These several parties formed the center of so much heated debate and unbridled discussion in the newspapers that a rather drastic press law had to be enacted in 1883. In October of the same year the dissolution of all the existing parties was decided upon in the interest of the Empire. Several years later, Goto, who had visited Europe in 1883, tried to unite all the parties in a league whose benevolent motto was: "Similarity in great things, difference in little things." But the attempt, naturally, was a failure. Political enthusiasm at this time gathered unmistakably around men rather than around principles. A period of more constructive usefulness commenced when Ito assumed the premiership in 1885.

Ito Hirobumi

The man who now became prime minister for the first time was destined to be one of the greatest statesmen of modern Japan, if not, as one has called him, "the greatest Oriental since Confucius." He was a samurai of Choshu whose original anti-foreign prepossessions gradually gave way to the belief in reform along western lines. In 1863 he had, as we have seen, with Inouye and others, left Japan secretly, against the then existing law. He worked his way to London and spent a year in eager and fruitful study of the Occident. In March, 1882, he once again, under very different circumstances, sailed for the "barbarian" lands. He visited America, England, Belgium, and Germany, in the latter country coming very pronouncedly under the influence of Bismarck. This influence manifested itself very plainly when Ito returned to Japan in September. It is due to Ito that, under the new constitution, there was brought about the rehabilitation of the nobility, graded, according to the European precedent, in the five degrees of prince, marquis, count, viscount, and baron. We owe also to Ito the reconstruction of the cabinet system so as to give the premier much the position which was occupied by the chancellor in the German Empire. Upon the evidence of this influence in the shaping of the constitution, which was one of the most important results of Ito's foreign tour, we shall dwell presently. There was, however, much else, which may be summarized in the following paragraph from Brinkley:

> The civil and penal laws were codified. The finances were placed on a sound footing. A national bank, with a network of subordinate institutions, was established. Railway construction was pushed on steadily. Postal and telegraph services were extended. The foundations of a strong mercantile marine were laid. A system of postal savings-banks was instituted. Extensive schemes of harbor improvements, roads and riparian works were planned and put into operation. The portals of the civil service were made accessible solely by competitive examination. A legion of students was sent westward to complete their education, and the country's foreign affairs were managed with comparative skill.[6]

The Korean question again

By the treaty with Korea in 1876 Japan had obtained the significant declaration on the part of the peninsula kingdom that she held herself to be independent of Chinese sovereignty. China, however, had by no means as yet recognized this to be the fact. On the contrary, the presence of a Japanese Resident at Seoul had led to constant friction between the Progressive, or pro-Japan, element and the Conservative, or pro-China element. As was to be expected, the friction eventually produced flame, and in 1882 an attack was made upon the Japanese Legation at Seoul. The members of the Embassy were driven from the city and the Legation buildings burned. Japan naturally availed herself of the opportunity to insist upon her right to maintain troops in Seoul for self-protection. In 1884, however, a further attack was made, and this time Japan, not satisfied with obtaining an indemnity from Korea, was disposed to settle the matter with China, which country was now represented by Yuan Shi-k'ai, the future first president of the Chinese Republic. Yuan had spent nine years in Korea as the lieutenant of the Chinese statesman, Li Hung-chang. Count Ito was sent to Tientsin, and there, on April 18, 1885, a convention was signed by which it was agreed that no troops, beyond the Legation guards, should be sent to Korea by either Japan or China without notice being sent to the other Power of intention to do so. By this convention hostilities were averted and feeling allayed until fresh incidents of an untoward nature brought about the war of 1894.

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[6] F. Brinkley, *A Short History of the Japanese People*, p. 691.

Treaty revision

This subject, as we have seen, had been from time to time postponed. But it had by no means been shelved. The delay had been due in part to Japan's own sense of unreadiness. In addition to the codification of the new laws, the Western Powers required some assurance of Japan's ability to administer them. They said: "The laws may be all right, but since judges and procurators are not accustomed to the required procedures we cannot commit to them our own property interests and lives." Nevertheless, the attitude of the Powers, and of the United States in particular, had encouraged Japanese statesmen to keep the matter before them. Inouye, as Minister of Foreign Affairs, made another brave attempt to revive the discussion in May, 1886, but he failed and was in consequence compelled a year later to resign his portfolio. His successor, Okuma, took up the difficult negotiation in February, 1888, and had made some progress when he too was forced to retire from office. In October, 1889, he was made the victim of an attempt at assassination and had the misfortune to lose a leg. The subject of revision, however, was by no means dropped, though no solution was to be reached for some years to come.

The era of fashionable crazes

Our survey of this period would not be complete without some reference to the epidemic of foreign fads which swept over Japan from the year 1873 to 1889, after which there came a reaction in favor of things Japanese. Professor Clement has drawn attention to the entertaining paragraph on "Fashionable Crazes" in Chamberlain's *Things Japanese*. There was "the rabbit year" in 1873, followed by a cock-fighting craze in 1874-1875. Then came the mania for printing dictionaries in 1882-1883, followed closely by that for founding all kinds of societies. Taste turned to athletics in 1884 and then we have a variety of epidemics, from waltzing to big funerals, in 1886-1887. "German Measles," or the rage for imitating things Teutonic, caught on about the same time, and then came the mania for mesmerism, table-turning, and planchette, till these in turn gave way to the craze for wrestling.[7] The antiforeign reaction came, as we have said, in 1889, when Japanese reverted to many of their own ideas. But 1889 brought one thing of the greatest moment.

The constitution of 1889

The remarkable document which removed Japan at one bound from the category of Oriental despotisms had been long preparing. It was at last promulgated amid general rejoicing on February 11, 1889, the birthday of the nation in a double sense. The great day was marred by only one untoward incident. This was the murder of Viscount Mori, Minister of Education, by Nishino Buntaro, a fanatic who had resented his victim's unconscious irreverence at the Shinto shrine at Ise. It is characteristic of the Japanese attitude towards deeds of daring that the assassin in due time became a kami. The work of drawing up the constitution had been entrusted to Ito, Kentaro Kaneko (later Viscount), Kowashi Inouye (later Viscount). The main instrument was Ito, who was also for many subsequent years the constitution's most authoritative interpreter. The influence of Bismarck has been already remarked as in the background, although, of course, the doctrine of the divine right of kings was universally accepted in Japan long before the rise of the Hohenzollerns. The Emperor, as the descendant of the Sun Goddess, was regarded by all as the gracious giver of the constitution, and the privileges therein conceded were intended to "open a wider field of activity for serving the Emperor." He was still the fountainhead of all law and of all justice, able to govern in the absence of legislation by means of imperial ordinances, able to dissolve Diets which should prove obstructive to the plans of his ministers, responsible for the command of army and navy, the declaration of war and the making of peace, the conclusion of treaties and the granting of honors, amnesties, and pardons. The Privy Council, which was, however, a much more influential body than the English institution of the same name, was only a consultative assembly and it was not necessary to take the advice which it was privileged to give. The ministers of state who formed the cabinet were responsible to the Emperor and not to the Diet, although, as Dr. Uyehara says, of a somewhat later time, "there is a strong tendency for Cabinet Ministers to rely more and more on the support of a majority in both houses of the Diet." The heads of the Army and Navy Departments were regarded as outside of party politics and could not be interpellated in the Diet like the other ministers.

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[7] B. H. Chamberlain, *Things Japanese, sub voce* Fashionable Crazes.

The Diet was divided into two chambers, the House of Peers and the House of Representatives. The former includes princes of the blood royal; the princes of the Empire and marquises; a certain number of counts, viscounts, and barons, elected by their peers for a period of seven years; a certain number of citizens nominated by the Emperor; and a certain number of citizens, subject to the Emperor's acceptance, elected from the highest taxpayers by the prefectures. At the time of writing the House of Peers consists of 15 princes of the blood, 14 princes of the Empire, 33 marquises, 20 counts, 74 viscounts, 70 barons, 121 imperial nominees, and 45 highest taxpayers, a total of 392. Out of this number 166 are not peers at all, and only about one-fifth of the peers of the Empire have a seat.

The House of Representatives, by the constitution of 1889, was elective, although the property qualification made the electorate necessarily small. At first there were only 300 members, elected by some 460,000 voters, but modifications have been made from time to time which we must consider later. The election was for four years and the Diet was to meet once a year. As we shall see, it was some time before parliamentary government got into good working order, and even now there is much left to be desired. There was very rarely a working majority in the Lower House favorable to the ministry in the early years. But, as it was not necessary for the Diet to pass an annual budget, and as the government could "carry on" by means of imperial ordinances and by frequent dissolutions, there was not much harm done while the Diet was learning how to function. Between 1890 and 1894 there were four general elections.[8] That the constitution worked as well as it did in these days is a splendid tribute not only to the genius of the men who compiled it, but also to the tact of the Emperor who made so little display of his prerogative, and to the loyalty of the people to their Empire. The Emperor's own stanza expresses what was both a conviction and a fact:

> Methinks there is no greater happiness
>   Than to share the happiness
> Of thousands and thousands of my people.

So the granting of the constitution opened up a new era for the marvelous advance of Japan to her high place among the World Powers.

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[8] G. E. Uyehara, *op. cit.*, "Chronology," pp. xvii ff.

CHAPTER XXVI

THE ERA OF EXPANSION

Parliamentary struggles

As hinted in the last chapter, the first years of constitutional government were not without their trials. They seemed at first to afford the spectacle of continuous disagreement between the legislature and the ministry, qualified by the fact that the House of Peers acted for the most part with the ministers. While it is impossible, within the limits of our space, to go into the complicated story of the reasons for all the various misunderstandings and disagreements, some idea of the situation may be conveyed by a bare statement of the parliamentary changes which took place up to the commencement of the war with China.

The first general election was held July 1, 1890, and the first session of the Diet lasted from November 25, 1890, to March 8, 1891. The *Yamagata* Ministry resigned after this session and the first *Matsukata* Ministry was inaugurated in May, 1891. The second session of the Diet was from November 21 to December 25, and was terminated by dissolution. The second general election was held in February, 1892, the official party being defeated. But Matsukata, nevertheless, retained office and held it till after the third session of the Diet from May 2 to June 14. Then he resigned and Ito entered upon his second ministry in August, 1892. A fourth session lasted from November 25 to December 30, 1892, to receive its *coup de grace* again in dissolution. The third general election, in March, 1894, like its predecessors, returned a majority hostile to the government, which, however, did not resign. A sixth session of the Diet from May 12 to June 2, 1894, ended by dissolution.

Then the Chinese war broke out and the fourth general election was held July, 1894. The war brought all parties into line and patriotic enthusiasm completely superseded partisan embitterment.[1]

Treaty revision

Before entering upon the story of Japan's first foreign war, it is fitting here to call attention to the success at length crowning the efforts of Japan to obtain the long coveted boon of treaty revision. The last negotiations, conducted by Count Okuma in 1889, had failed because of the opposition to the appointment of foreign judges in Japanese Courts of First Instance and Courts of Appeal in cases where foreigners were defendants. Okuma, as we saw, lost a leg through the popular hostility to this concession. In the very next year, however, Lord Salisbury, the British Foreign Minister, himself reopened the question by making certain proposals for a treaty abolishing extraterritoriality and granting tariff autonomy, the whole to come into force in five years, so as to give time for the making of similar treaties with other nations. A few minor difficulties had to be overcome, such as the granting to foreign subjects a right of leasing land in Japan, but all was finally adjusted, and the revised British treaty was signed on July 16, just a few days before the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese war.

The war with China

In the spring of 1894 an outbreak of insurrection in the south of Korea, known as the *Tong-hak* movement, led to a request from the Min party, to which the masterful queen of Korea belonged, for help from China. The Tong-haks were the rustic followers of a Korean fanatic named Choi, who had been executed as a Christian in 1865. His system was really a curious mixture of Buddhism, Confucianism, and Taoism, but his use of the title *Tien Chu* ('Heaven Lord') for God, had caused him to be regarded by the authorities as a

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[1] G. E. Uyehara, *Political Development of Japan.*

Roman Catholic. In accordance with the Tientsin Convention, China sent 2,500 troops, but accompanied the notification with the provocative assertion, which contradicted any supposed waiver of suzerainty: "It is in harmony with our constant practice to protect our tributary states." Japan countered by sending a similar number of soldiers to the vicinity of Seoul. It is undeniable that from the first a distinctly aggressive attitude was assumed by the Chinese Resident and the reference to Korea as a tributary state was repeated more than once. Moreover, no attention was paid to Japan's suggestion of joint action for the purpose of restoring order. Chinese activity seemed quite in the other direction, for when *Kim Ok-kyun,* the Korean progressive leader, was beguiled from Japan only to be murdered at Shanghai, instead of punishing the Korean assassins, China brought him on one of her warships to receive honors in his own country. Under the circumstances, Japan felt justified in regarding Chinese reënforcements sent to Korea as evidence of hostility. In fact, without notice to Japan, Chinese troops to the number of 11,000 were sent both by land and sea, and it was at once recognized that war was inevitable. Two Japanese cruisers were attacked by three Chinese warships engaged in convoying the transport *Kowshing*. The encounter took place on July 25, 1894, with the result that the transport, refusing to surrender, was sunk with a loss of twelve hundred troops, and the Chinese warships destroyed or damaged.

The war, formally declared on August 1, seemed to the onlooking nations likely to prove an uneven conflict, the odds being strongly in favor of China. Yet the million ill-trained troops of the Middle Kingdom were in no way prepared to meet the seventy thousand fighting men of Japan, while the Chinese navy, in spite of its superior size, had behind it no sense of national unity. The events of the war constitute an unbroken series of Japanese successes and may be roughly summarized as follows.

Seoul was first occupied and the Chinese defeated in the neighborhood of Pin-yang. Then came the defeat of the Chinese fleet by Admiral Ito Yuko on September 17, with the loss of five ships sunk at the mouth of the Yalu River. The crossing of the Yalu immediately after brought the Japanese into Manchuria. With the freedom of the seas secured, an attack was made by Field Marshal Oyama on Port Arthur and the fortress was soon forced to capitulate with a loss to the assailants of only four hundred killed and wounded. The investment and capture of Weihaiwei followed and a further attack on the Chinese fleet resulted in its surrender on February 14, 1895, and in the suicide of the gallant Admiral Ting. The rout of the Chinese army at the mouth of the Liao River completed the victory and brought the fighting part of the campaign to a conclusion. During the seven and a half months of the war's duration party spirit in Japan was completely forgotten and all men co-operated loyally with the Emperor and, as they believed, with the spirits of the ancestors, to secure the desired victory.

Negotiations, twice offered by China in an irregular manner, were eventually commenced on March 20 between Ito and the veteran Chinese statesman, Li Hung-chang, at Shimonoseki. A regrettable attack upon the life of Li, made four days later, undoubtedly served to make the terms easier for the defeated than had been intended. By the *Treaty of Shimonoseki,* signed April 14, 1895, China agreed to recognize the independence of Korea, to cede to Japan the Liaotung peninsula, the island of Formosa (Taiwan) and the neighboring Pescadores, to pay to Japan a war indemnity of 200,000,000 taels, to open to trade the cities of Sashi, Chungking, Suchow, and Hangchow and to hand over to Japan Weihaiwei until after payment of the indemnity.

An interesting, though unwelcome, sequel to the Treaty of Shimonoseki, and one which was to have momentous consequences in the years to follow, was the demand, made on

April 23, within a week of the signing of the Treaty, by Germany, France, and Russia, that Japan should retrocede her claim to annexations on the mainland in consideration of an additional indemnity of 30,000,000 taels. Japan at the time was unable to resist the "advice," but she secured the retranslation of the German note, couched, it is said, in bad Japanese, and treasured up the memory of the episode for future use.

Educational progress

Though encouraged, as the Japanese claim, in remote antiquity, education, like all things else, made an entirely new start with Meiji. The early education introduced with Buddhism was fit for priests rather than for men of the world. The Tokugawa system taught boys the elements of the Chinese classics, history, law, mathematics, and literature, but there was little for the common people and still less for girls. With Fukuzawa and the founding of Keio before the downfall of the Shogunate we have an earnest of the zeal to come. The sage of Mita, it is said, went on with his classes even while civil war was going on in the Uyeno Park in the same city with himself.

Immediately after the beginning of Meiji the Charter Oath emphasized the fact that knowledge was to be sought through all the world, and early in 1868, students were urged to attend the schools which had been founded during the Shogunate. Some of these students, who were known as "tribute youths," were to be educated at the expense of the clans. An Ordinance Relating to Universities, Middle and Elementary Schools, was issued in 1869. In 1871, the first Department of Education was established, just a year after the establishment of a system of government education in England. The promulgation of the *first Educational Code* followed in September, 1872, and the country, exclusive of the Hokkaido and the Ryukyu Islands, was divided into 8 university provinces, each province into 32 middle school districts, and each of these into 210 elementary school districts. It is interesting to note that in 1873 there were over 12,000 elementary schools, 20,000 in 1874, and 28,000 in 1879. Yet there was a good deal of difficulty in applying the code, mainly because some regulations had been borrowed bodily from European systems. So in 1879 there was put forth a revised code which made the curriculum simpler and showed the influence of American rather than French ideas. Another revision came in 1886, when Viscount Mori, who was murdered three years later, was Minister of Education. Under Mori there was a distinction made in elementary and middle schools between ordinary and higher courses, while more attention was paid, under the German, Hausknecht, to the training of teachers. In all these codes a unique feature was the emphasis placed upon moral training. Yet in the turbulent beginnings of constitutionalism there was much discussion as to the proper basis for this instruction. Some argued for Buddhism, some for Confucianism, and some for Christianity. The question was settled for the Japanese by the issuance of the remarkable *Imperial Rescript* of October 30, 1890, of which the more important part runs as follows:

> Our Imperial Ancestors have founded our Empire on a basis broad and everlasting and have deeply and firmly implanted virtue; Our subjects ever uniting in loyalty and filial piety have from generation to generation illustrated the beauty thereof. This is the glory of the fundamental character of Our Empire and herein also lies the source of Our education. Ye, Our Subjects, be filial to your parents, affectionate to your brothers and sisters; as husbands and wives be harmonious, as friends true; bear yourselves in modesty and moderation; extend your benevolence to all; pursue learning and cultivate arts; and thereby develop intellectual faculties and perfect moral powers; furthermore, advance public good and promote common interests; always respect the Constitution and observe the laws; should emergency arise, offer yourselves courageously to the State; and thus guard and maintain the prosperity of Our Imperial Throne coeval with

heaven and earth. So shall ye be not only Our good and faithful subjects, but render illustrious the best traditions of your forefathers.[2]

Later on, there was the second Imperial Rescript of 1908 and the revised Educational Ordinances of 1900, 1907, and 1911. It suffices here to direct attention to the general fact that in education Japan was at least keeping pace with the advances made in other branches of reform.

We must not, of course, forget to add to the educational efforts made by the government two other voluntary systems. The one was the work of citizens who founded schools and colleges, sometimes as a work of filial piety, and sometimes to accomplish the carrying out of a definite program. We have already mentioned the foundation of *Keio* by Fukuzawa and the *Doshisha,* founded in 1875 at Kyoto by Joseph Niishima. We must also mention especially the University of *Waseda,* founded by the statesman Okuma. The grounds of the college now include the house where the venerable statesman died, and his spirit seems still to brood over the splendid institution.

The other type of voluntary educational effort is to be seen in the many schools and colleges founded by missionaries and missionary societies, such as *St. Paul's* and the *Aoyama Gakuin* at Tokyo and *Christian College* at Kobe. These schools, in method and in practice as well as in ideals, have lent powerful aid towards carrying out the educational purposes of the government.

Christian missions to the era of reaction

We have already seen how the Restoration opened a door for the reëntry of Christian missions at the same time that it reëstablished contact with the West. We have also had occasion to mention some of the pioneers of the Christian faith who entered Japan as early as 1859. In their footsteps others speedily followed. The first missionary was the Rev. George

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[2] Baron Kikuchi, *Japanese Education.*

Ensor in 1869. Even at this date, however, the missionary had to be visited by night and in secret. One man came to Mr. Ensor with the intention of assassinating him, but was instead himself converted and became the means of converting others. In 1873 the attitude of the government changed. The kosatsu, or notice boards prohibiting the preaching of Christianity, were removed. There were even Japanese leaders who, merely out of zeal in the acceptance of Western ideas, were moved to suggest that Christianity be made the national religion. Happily this merely nominal acceptance was averted and mission work proceeded normally. As it was, there was "an avalanche of opportunity" and baptisms were frequent. Writing in 1889, Rev. D. C. Greene says: "Not less than thirty students of the Imperial University were avowed Christians. Among the members of a single Congregational Church are a Judge of the Supreme Court of Japan, a professor in the Imperial University, three Governmental Secretaries, members of at least two noble families; while in a Presbyterian Church are the three most prominent members of the Liberal Party, one of them a Count in the new Peerage."

At the time of the Emperor's accession there were, outside of the unknown Roman Catholic adherents, only four Christians in the Empire. In 1889, there were 31,000 Protestant and Anglican baptized members and probably about 45,000 belonging to the Roman and Greek Communions. The mission of the Russian Church, founded at Hakodate, in 1861, by Père (afterwards Archbishop) Nicolai, has been one of the most remarkable missionary movements of modern times. In 1914 there were 33,000 converts under the care of this mission.

The first attempt to present the New Testament in Japanese was by Mr. Goble (to whom is generally accredited the invention of the *jinrikisha*) of the American Baptist Mission, in 1879. The whole Bible, carefully translated by representatives of all the chief missionary societies, appeared in 1887. As has already been stated, educational work has played an important part in the establishment of missions in Japan, but missionary schools, as schools, are at the present time less and less needed on account of the general excellence of the public schools and colleges.[3]

Domestic politics from the Chinese to the Russian war

The war with China had drawn the party statesmen of Japan close together to meet a great national emergency. The necessity of accepting the "advice" of certain Western Powers, in the matter of retroceding the Liaotung peninsula, made very evident the fact that sound policy in the future demanded further military preparedness and a large expansion of both army and navy. Yet it cannot be said that during these years the management of the nation's affairs was much assisted by party government. The Matsukata Ministry lasted only from September, 1896, to the end of 1897, and Okuma left it after only two months' association. Then came Ito's third ministry, which, however, after six months, gave way to a coalition of Liberals and Progressists under Okuma and Itagaki in June, 1898. Six months later this in turn gave place to a Conservative ministry under Yamagata which had the good fortune to survive nearly two years. In October, 1900, the new party, known as the *Seiyukwai* ('Political Fraternal Association,' formed August 25, 1900) gave a majority to Ito's fourth ministry, which, by means of an imperial rescript, tided over difficulties with the House of Peers and lasted till May, 1901. Then the Emperor sent for Viscount Katsura whose ministry, without being liked by any of the political parties, was enabled to hold its own through its independence of the majority in the Diet and by means of dissolutions, till the outbreak of the war with Russia on February 10, 1904, brought once again a solid front of support against an outside foe and peace within the sphere of domestic politics. The record in the ten years between the two wars is that of six ministries and four dissolutions.

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[3] C. H. Robinson, *History of Christian Missions,* Chap. VIII.

The Boxer revolt

Foreign policy had been of vital consequence not merely to the influence, but also to the very existence of Japan since its victory over China. The prestige of the Empire had been immensely increased by the campaign and also by the treaty revision of 1894, which ensured removal of the stigma of extraterritoriality in five years' time. Japan was now a member, on equal terms, of the family of the Powers. She was so much the more, therefore, in danger from the intrigues of the nations which were bent upon preventing her influence from affecting their plans for exploiting the Asiatic mainland.

Russia began at once after the conclusion of peace with China by capitalizing the interest she had acquired. First of all, she obtained permission to complete the Siberian Railway to Vladivostok through Manchuria, instead of using the long loop of the Amur. She also obtained financial advantage by lending to China the money needed to pay off the indemnity to Japan. Three years later she followed up the German seizure of a portion of the province of Shantung by obtaining a "lease" of Port Arthur, of which she had deprived Japan in 1895. Then followed the extortion of the right to build a branch railway from Harbin through Mukden to Port Arthur. All this was of intense significance to Japan, who meanwhile could only continue her preparations for the inevitable struggle which was to come.

Then came the Boxer outbreak in China. The old Empress Dowager, tired of watching the process of "the slicing of the melon," made her famous *coup d'état* of September, 1898, swept impatiently aside the "Reforms of July," and threw in her lot with the Boxers who, fortified with strange medicines, deemed themselves invulnerable. In the fatuous attempt to get rid of the foreigners at "one fell swoop," Mr. Sugiyama, Chancellor to the Japanese Legation, was one of the early victims, and for this reason, as well as because of Japan's contiguity to the scene of trouble, Japan was called upon to join the Allied forces charged with the capture of Peking and the punishment of the rebels. The troops sent from the Island Empire were among the most efficient of those employed in this remarkable expedition. They gained, moreover, an enviable reputation both for their valor and military skill and for their freedom from the general tendency to loot the captured territory.

During the negotiations which followed the suppression of the Boxers, Russia separated herself from her quondam allies and overran Manchuria. She failed, moreover, to withdraw her troops when the other Powers, according to agreement, evacuated the region which had been previously occupied. Promises indeed were made to complete the withdrawal in three stages of evacuation six months apart, but the promise was kept only so far as the first stage was concerned. Russia, in fact, was following anything but a simple and settled line of action in the Far East. While the naval men were probably ready for a campaign of annexation in Manchuria, Witte was content with a policy of peaceful penetration both in Manchuria and northern China. The notorious Bezobrazov was, under pretext of taking over timber concessions in Korea, working for the predominance of Russia in the peninsula. Japan seemed for a time quite willing to allow Russia her way with Manchuria provided she was permitted a similar freedom in Korea. But the Bear wanted to fill both paws with Oriental honey.

The Anglo-Japanese Alliance

While the negotiations between Russia and Japan were in an early stage, the position of the latter country internationally was immensely strengthened by the signing, on January 30, 1902, of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. Such an alliance had been favored as far back as 1895 by Count Mutsu, the then Foreign Minister, and the English statesman, Joseph Chamberlain, had advocated the step in March, 1898. But it was left for Lord Lansdowne, in England, and Hayashi, the Japanese Minister, to bring the matter to a successful issue. Ito had been sent to Europe to work for a German-Japanese alliance, or possibly to put pressure, by the appearance of such, upon the British Foreign Office. For a time some favor was shown towards the working for a triple alliance between Great Britain, Germany, and Japan, though it also seems likely that Japan was herself hesitating between an Anglo-Japanese Alliance and an understanding with Russia.[4] To the relief of most people, however, the negotiations terminated as the Anglo-Japanese Alliance of January 30, 1902. To-day it is the fashion to underestimate the advantages gained by either party by the agreement, but at the time these were sufficiently obvious. To Japan it was felt that in the event of a conflict with Russia England might be depended upon to "keep the ring." The recurrence of such an episode as the retrocession of the Liaotung peninsula was rendered impossible. It made easier, moreover, the floating in London of some much desired loans. For Great Britain the advantage of the arrangement, the first treaty of alliance made with any Oriental power, was not quite so clear. But in the background was doubtless the fear of Russian aggression in India.

The most important provisions of the treaty are contained in the promise that, should either contracting Power become involved in a conflict with any third power, the other would exert its influence to prevent others from joining in hostilities against its ally. Should, however, any third power intervene, it should be the duty of the other contracting Power to come to the assistance of its ally and to maintain war in common.[5]

The significance of the treaty of alliance was the more apparent in view of the recent character of Western intercourse with Japan. Less than fifty years before, Mr. Fukuzawa could find in all Yedo no one to teach him English, and the first English Minister to Japan, on his way out, was of opinion that Japan was "a cluster of isles on the farthest verge of the horizon, apparently inhabited by a race grotesque and savage." That one of the proudest nations of the West should now be anxious for an alliance with such a people is indeed significant, and it was not long before Japan herself was to appreciate the advantage which had been thus secured.

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[4] *See* A. M. Pooley, *The Secret Memoirs of Count Hayashi.*

[5] *See* Appendix III.

The war with Russia

We have already traced in part the events which made this tremendous and fateful struggle more or less inevitable. While the diplomacy of Russia was shifty and evasive, Japan showed herself commendably patient and conciliatory. In her case the subsequent action was defensive, and indeed a matter of life and death. In the case of Russia, there was the ambition, encouraged by the Czar, to make of Manchuria another Bokhara. So, while the Russian Foreign Office, crafty, obdurate, and dilatory, was through the mouth of Lamsdorff temporizing, troops were being dispatched in ever increasing numbers to the East. Finally, after six months of weary parleying, Japan severed diplomatic relations with Russia, recalled her minister, Kurino, and announced that she would take such independent action as she considered best.

The situation was a startling one to the whole world, since to most it was beyond belief that Japan could successfully wage war with one of the most powerful of European empires. Nor is amazement much less in retrospect, even when all due allowance is made for Russian distance from her base, for the corruption and incompetence of her higher officers, and for the general unpopularity of the war with the masses even then on the verge of revolution. Japan was quite within her rights in seizing the initiative, though actually the first shot was fired by the Russians when they encountered the Japanese transports on the way to Korea.

But the gigantic conflict really began, on February 9, 1904, with the almost simultaneous attacks made by Admiral Togo at Port Arthur and by Admiral Uriu at Chemulpo. Each of these engagements resulted in a victory for the Japanese and gave the freedom necessary for ensuring the passage of troops to Korea and Manchuria. They also served to increase the terribly small margin of naval ascendancy which Japan held at the opening of the war.

Land operations commenced with the victory of General Kuroki's First Army on the Yalu, where the Russian commander, General Kuropatkin, had been ill advised enough to order a stand. This success opened the way to Liaoyang. Meanwhile, the second army had reached the field, under General Oku. He landed on the Liaotung peninsula and immediately after, on May 26, won the important battle of Kinchou, capturing thereby Nanshan and compelling, on May 30, the abandonment of the port of Dalny (Dairen). A little later, General Nodzu landed at Takushan to join Kuroki and General Nogi's army commenced the investment of Port Arthur. This left Oku free to check the force of Kuropatkin which had been planning the relief of the fortress.

While the investment of Port Arthur was being completed from the land side, attempts were made from the sea to make an effective blockade. During one of these attempts the Russian flagship, *Petropavlovsk*, with Admiral Makaroff on board, was sunk. The Japanese also suffered on the sea on June 15, although the worst of the misadventure was successfully kept a secret until after the war. The loss of the cruiser *Yoshino* by collision and that of the battleships *Yashima* and *Hatsuse* by mines were incidents which might have had a serious moral effect had they become public.

On land a great battle lasted at Liaoyang for the whole week commencing August 25. In the end the three armies of Oku, Nodzu, and Kuroki, under the general command of Field Marshal Oyama, inflicted a tremendous defeat upon

General Kuropatkin. Hardly less serious in its effect upon Russia was the defeat shortly afterwards suffered on the Shaho. After this the opposing armies went into winter quarters.

Meanwhile, against the beleaguered fortress of Port Arthur terrific and costly attacks continued. The Japanese made the most heroic sacrifices, sometimes for the smallest conceivable gains. Ten thousand men gave up their lives in the taking of 203 Metre Hill. The spirit of all, down to the common soldier, was that of Take Hirose, one of the many heroes of the siege, when he wrote:

> As infinite as the dome of heaven above us
> Is the debt we owe our Emperor;
> Immeasurable as the deep sea below us
> Is the debt we owe our country.
> The time has come for us to pay our debts.

When the news was brought to General Nogi that his own son was among the dead, the stoical soldier remarked quietly: "It is an honor that the Nation has accepted the humble sacrifice."

So ever nearer these "human bullets" got to the doomed citadel and port and soon after General Kondratenko, one of the most skillful of Port Arthur's defenders, was slain, General Stoessel decided to surrender. The surrender was made to General Nogi on the first day of the new year, 1905.

In the early spring of this new year the campaign to the north was resumed. What has been described as the greatest battle in all history, up to this date, was waged around Mukden from February 24 to March 10. All the plain between the city and the imperial tombs still to-day bears witness to the terrible struggle. In one enclosure alone the writer has seen the inscription which marks the resting place of 23,000 Japanese dead. The battle was won by a great flanking movement carried out by Nogi's veteran army, opportunely released by the capitulation of Port

Arthur. The Russians are said to have lost 27,000 killed and 110,000 wounded.

Although so far the Japanese had enjoyed an almost unbroken series of victories, they were really at this time in a rather critical situation. Money was hard to get for the continuance of the war; the Japanese communications were getting longer and the Russian lines shorter; the double tracking of the Siberian Railway was enabling Russia to speed up the transport of troops; most serious of all, the Russian Baltic fleet had sailed in October, 1904, and was gradually nearing the Eastern waters. And here we may rightfully claim that American influence had some weight in the scale favorable to Japan, for, if Germany and France were contemplating intervention in aid of Russia, Mr. Roosevelt characteristically made it known that in such a case he would "promptly side with Japan." Writing to his English friend, Mr. Cecil Spring Rice, he added: "I, of course, knew that your Government would act in the same way, and I thought it best that I should have no consultation with your people before announcing my own purpose." It is quite possible that Mr. Roosevelt's promptness on this occasion went far towards averting the outbreak of a world war.[6]

But much was depending upon the skill and vigilance of the Japanese navy and Togo was not the man to betray the hopes of Nippon. The great Russian fleet of twenty-nine ships, under Admiral Rozhestvensky, reached the Straits of Tsushima on May 27, 1905, and was attacked by the Japanese admiral at exactly the psychological moment. *The Battle of the Sea of Japan,* in which the Russians lost their entire fleet, with some 4,000 killed or drowned and 7,000 taken prisoners, to the 116 killed and 538 wounded on the Japanese side, deserves to be ranked among the decisive battles of all history. The effect was electrical throughout the world and, although Russian fighting power was by no means so far impaired as to make a continuance of the struggle impossible, it was clear that the proper moment had arrived to suggest negotiations with a view to making peace. The offer, as was expected, was made by President Roosevelt, on June 9, and was at once accepted by both combatants.

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[6] Tyler Dennett, *Roosevelt and the Russo-Japanese War.*

The Treaty of Portsmouth

It was mutually agreed that envoys from the belligerent nations should meet at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, and the first session was held on August 10. Russia was represented by Mr. (afterwards Count) Witte and Baron R. Rosen, and Japan by Baron (afterwards Marquis) Komura and Mr. (afterwards Baron) Takahira. Viscount Kaneko was also present unofficially as representing Ito. Komura's proposals were first of all rejected *en bloc,* after the manner of Oriental bargaining, and then taken up for discussion one by one. The main difficulty was on two points, the cession of Sakhalin and the payment of indemnity. On these points, after four days' discussion, there followed six days' deadlock. An adjournment of two days made the reopening of hostilities more than probable. Among the "extra or ancillary" secrets of the conference is the story that Mr. Roosevelt forced the hands of the Japanese by permitting the Associated Press to publish a statement to the effect that Japan would accept peace without indemnity. This, however, it came about, Komura was obliged to accept. The compromise, which to most observers had seemed, under the circumstances, inevitable, resulted in the following features of the Treaty of Portsmouth:

1. Japan's paramount position in Korea was conceded.
2. The southern half of Sakhalin, known as Karafuto, was conceded to Japan instead of the indemnity of $580,000,000, which had been demanded. No fortifications, however, were to impede the navigation of the straits.
3. A simultaneous evacuation of Manchuria (the Liaotung

peninsula being, in the case of Japan, excepted) was to be carried out by both armies within eighteen months.

4. To Japan was awarded the Russian lease of the Liaotung peninsula, with the railway and other privileges south of Kwan Cheng-tze and Changchun.

5. Fishing privileges were accorded Japan along the shores of Bering Sea.

6. Payment was to be made for the maintenance of prisoners, the balance due to Japan amounting to about $20,000,000.

The Treaty was signed on September 5, 1905, and this was followed by the signature of an agreement at Seoul on November 17 establishing the Japanese protectorate over Korea, also by an agreement with China on December 22 transferring to Japan the reversion of the Russian leases. The South Manchurian Railway Zone was created by imperial ordinance in the following June.[7]

Reception of the Treaty in Japan

Hailed with enthusiasm by all the governments of Europe and America, the Treaty of Portsmouth had by no means a popular reception in Japan. Possibly among the most dissatisfied was Komura himself, upon whom fell the weight of the popular discontent. The loss of an indemnity which was expected to finance the new railway schemes in Manchuria was associated in the Japanese imagination with the presence of Mr. E. H. Harriman in Tokyo and his well known ambition to secure financial control of the Manchurian lines for the United States. Yet, as Mr. McCormick asserts: "Komura's apparent diplomatic defeat at Portsmouth was reflected in the policy which he then forged for his country and in this his proper star arose." The popular dissatisfaction is accounted for easily enough when we bear in mind the long strain to which the Japanese people had been subjected and the heroic sacrifices they had so cheerfully made. It was quite natural that the well-nigh miraculous restraint exhibited during the conflict should, under the circumstances, temporarily give way. Yet the riots, regrettable as they were, were of small account when compared with the semi-revolutionary conditions prevailing at the time in Russia, and the people soon learned to take calmer and more sensible views. It was then recognized that, while the risk of continuing the war beyond the point reached was extreme to the degree of madness, the gains registered by the Treaty of Portsmouth were to Japan of inestimable value. The Orient was freed, at least for years to come, of a giant menace. Space was provided on the continent for the natural overflow of the Japanese population and for the expansion of Japanese commerce. Japanese prestige became at a bound a thing to conjure with throughout all Asia. Not least, the renewal of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, on August 12, 1905, while the war was still unfinished, showed that the proudest of the nations of the West was not averse from sharing the fortunes of Nippon. Japan was now not merely an Asiatic, but also a World Power, whose interests in the affairs of the East were unquestionable and dominant.

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[7] Baron Rosen, *Forty Years of Diplomacy;* Frederick McCormick, *The Menace of Japan.*

CHAPTER XXVII

THE LAST YEARS OF MEIJI

Domestic politics

Domestic politics from 1905 to 1912 are not particularly interesting to the foreign student. Yet they are quite important as revealing a considerable swing of the pendulum from the intoxication of military glory to a considerable manifestation of social discontent. This, possibly influenced in its later stages by the Chinese revolution, was largely the result of domestic conditions. Mr. Saito writes: "The repeated famines in the Northeast districts of Japan, the disastrous eruption of the Sakurajima volcano, the rapid rise in the cost of living, the revelation of bribery scandals, the frequent changes of Cabinets—all these worked together to cause popular disquietude." [1]

Yet parliamentary government was showing a rather striking increase of stability as compared with the earlier years of constitutional government.

During the first twelve sessions of the Diet, extending over eight years, there were five dissolutions of the lower house. During the next thirteen sessions, extending over eleven years, there were two dissolutions. During the first eight years of the Diet's existence there were six changes of Cabinet; during the next eleven years there were five changes. Another healthy sign was that men of affairs were beginning to realize the importance of Parliamentary representation. At first the constituencies were contested almost entirely by professional politicians, barristers and journalists. In 1909 there was a solid body, the *bo-shin* club, of business men commanding nearly fifty votes in the lower house; and, as the upper chamber included forty-five representatives of the highest tax-payers, the interests of commerce and industry were intelligently debated.

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[1] *See Encyclopedia Britannica* (12th ed.), II, 647.

After a premiership which had carried the country through the war, Katsura resigned in the last days of 1905. His place was taken by the Marquis *Saionji* who, on the defection of Ito, had become leader of the Seiyukai. The new premier succeeded in carrying through the nationalization of the railways in the twenty-second session of the Diet. He also secured in 1907 an arrangement with France "for safeguarding peace in the Far East," a similar agreement with China concerning the Simmintun, Mukden and Kirin Railway, and a new treaty with Korea, placing the administrative authority in the hands of the Japanese Resident-General.

Early in 1908, however, there came about a cabinet crisis and the tenth general election took place in the May of that year. A month or two later Saionji resigned and made way for Katsura's second administration. The returned premier now held office for the unprecedently long term of four and a half years, resigning only in August, 1911, "with a view to renovating the spirit of the people." During the last year of this ministry the whole country was thrilled with horror by the discovery of an anarchist plot against the Emperor. The conspirators were arrested and tried; many of them were condemned to death, but some of these received the imperial pardon.

The annexation of Korea

Katsura's most important step, during his second administration, was the annexation of Korea "for the preservation of peace in the far East." The terms of the Treaty of Portsmouth, so far as they related to Korea, had been intended not only to safeguard the peninsula from the intrigues of European Powers, but also to save the Koreans themselves from the consequences of their own chronic corruption and administrative incompetence. Possibly also the need of providing room for the embarrassingly rapid increase of the Japanese population was not unconsidered, though as Mr. Gubbins reminds us, Japanese expansion and Japanese emigration are two quite separate questions. But the years following the signing of the Treaty were full of difficulty and vexation, entailing, moreover, the expenditure of many millions of dollars and the loss of many valuable lives. It was in consequence of these difficulties that a new treaty was made between Japan and Korea on November 17, 1905, which established Japan's relationship to the peninsula clearly as that of a protectorate. Ito was sent as Resident-General and it was decided that all Korea's diplomatic business should be transacted through Japanese channels. The moribund state made a futile protest to the United States, which had in a vague way pledged her support some years earlier,[2] but the logic of the situation was accepted and America withdrew its legation. Thus, several years in advance of actual annexation, Korea terminated her existence as a separate nation.

Yet, even with this, further and more drastic measures were speedily found desirable and a new agreement was made July 24, 1907. During all this time an enormous amount of work was being accomplished in the reformation of taxation and currency, the establishment of banks, post offices, telegraphs, and schools, and in the erection of public buildings. In some cases, as even Ito acknowledged, the new administration was unsympathetically and untactfully carried out, but the sullen and provocative nationalism of the Koreans made matters exceedingly difficult. The suppression of one insurrection cost the lives of 21,000 persons. At length, the Emperor of Korea, voluntarily or under pressure, abdicated in favor of his son, and the latter was sent to Japan to receive his education. Then came a series of very dramatic events, beginning with the resignation of Ito in June, 1909. The great statesman was thoroughly discouraged by his failure to win the coöperation of the Korean people. Four months later, while the ex-Resident-General was conferring with the Russian Minister of Finance at Harbin, he was shot by a Korean fanatic. Thus the career of one of the greatest Japanese in history was prematurely brought to a close. Among the telegrams of condolence received by the Emperor was one from Lord Kitchener who at the time was visiting the Manchurian battlefields. It is interesting to add that after the assassin had been taken to Japan and there condemned to death, he was allowed ten days' respite in order that he might finish a poem he had commenced.

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[2] For the text of the Korean petition to President Roosevelt, *see* Henry Chung, *The Oriental Policy of the United States,* pp. 241-245. The petition ends as follows: "The clause in the treaty between the United States and Korea gives us a claim upon the United States for assistance, and this is the time when we need it most."

Article I of the American-Korean Treaty of May 22, 1882, signed on behalf of the United States by Commodore Shufeldt, reads as follows: "There shall be perpetual peace and friendship between the President of the United States and the King of Chosen and the citizens and subjects of their respective Governments. If other Powers deal unjustly or oppressively with either Government, the other will exert its good offices, on being informed of the case, to bring about an amicable arrangement, thus showing its friendly feelings."

Prince Ito was succeeded in Korea by Baron Sone, who after a few months resigned and gave place to General *Terauchi.* This appointment was the signal for carrying out the plan which had for some time been recognized as inevitable. On August 29, 1910, Korea became by annexation an integral part of the Japanese Empire. The old name of *Chosen* ('Land of the Morning Freshness') was now officially adopted and the name of the capital, Seoul, became officially Keijo. The Emperor, together with his predecessor, were allowed to remain in the old palace and provided with an annual income of a million yen. The older Emperor died in January, 1919; the younger, who was Yi to the Koreans, Li to the Chinese, and Ri to the Japanese, died on April 24, 1926.

Those who are desirous of acquainting themselves with the achievements of Japan in Korea during the first years after the annexation should read the remarkable report on "*Reforms and Progress in Chosen,*" issued by the Governor-General at Keijo in July, 1916. To mention only a few facts of significance, it is interesting to find that during the first two years following annexation fifteen million young trees were planted as a beginning in afforestation, that ten million seedling mulberry trees and sixty thousand broods of silk-worm eggs were distributed to the farmers, that common, industrial, technical, and normal schools, as well as agricultural experiment stations, were established and that a well trained gendarmerie was organized. It is no wonder that after years of patience Japan began to find in Korea a people "heartened and bettered materially, falling in with the situation and marching ahead." More on the same subject, however, must be reserved for a later page.[3]

One may grow sentimental over the disappearance of a kingdom which dates itself from 2333 B.C., at which remote time the Son of the Creator alighted on a mountain in the province of Phyong An, or at least from the foundation of a dynasty in 1122 B.C. by the Chinese sage, Chi Tzu. But one cannot deny that when Korea, after all her buffetings to and fro in the whirlpool of *Welt-politik,* found absorption in the Empire of Japan, a happy solution was reached such as should conduce to the peace of the Orient and of the world at large.

The Manchurian Railways

Reference has already been made to the fact that, a week earlier than the signing of the Treaty of Portsmouth, Mr. Edward H. Harriman, the American railway financier, landed at Yokohama. Within five days he procured the signature of a memorandum providing for the lease and management of the Southern Manchurian Railways. This memorandum, known as the Ito-Harriman Agreement, was undivulged at the time, but was evidently accepted by Japan because, in default of an indemnity from Russia, it seemed manifestly impossible to finance the railways and still less possible to think of them as reverting to Russia. A month later, Komura, hot with indignation at what seemed to him the inadequate result of the Portsmouth conference, arrived home. At once Japanese politics assumed a new complexion, in general unfavorable to the influence of the United States. The memorandum was forgotten or regarded as premature and a new treaty was made with China interpreting the provisions of the Treaty of Portsmouth a little more stringently in the interest of Japanese supremacy in the Orient.

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[3] For the Korean side of the case, *see* pamphlets issued by the Korean National Association, such as Arthur McLennan, "Japanese Diplomacy and Force in Korea," and J. E. Moore, "Korea's Appeal for Self-Determination."

Japan had, in the sequel of her two wars, suffered sufficiently from the weakness of her diplomatic arm. In consequence, we are entitled at this time to interpret her diplomacy as being rather assertively pro-Japanese than as being deliberately anti-American. Yet there can be no doubt that it militated for a time against American influence in Far Eastern affairs. Regard must be had also to the stirring up of antiforeign feeling on account of the California school question to which we shall presently recur. Nevertheless, things seemed to be going smoothly at Washington. The sending of the American fleet of sixteen battleships around the world was carefully planned so as to present nothing of menace to Japan. It is even doubtful whether the *Root-Takahira Agreement*, signed November 30, 1908, appeared at Washington either as a rebuff to China or as a further step towards securing Japanese dominance in the Orient. The language, expressive of the desire "to encourage the free and peaceful development of their [i.e., the United States and Japan] commerce on the Pacific Ocean," "to support by all pacific means at their disposal the independence and integrity of China and the principle of equal opportunity," and "to maintain the existing *status quo* in the region above mentioned," seemed harmless enough. Nevertheless, there was a sting in the tail of the document which was unobserved at the time.

On the entrance of Mr. Taft's administration, the new Secretary of State, Mr. Knox, made known, in January, 1910, his plan for securing the neutralization of the Manchurian Railways by purchase and restoration to China, "the purchase to be carried out by means of a loan subscribed by the powers." But the plan was not supported by Great Britain and was by the Japanese regarded as threatening the confiscation of their interests in Manchuria. Russia and Japan thereupon "seemed to spring together" in the adoption of a common policy. On January 20, 1910, Japan informed China that she and Russia jointly declined the American proposal. Formal rejection followed, and on July 4, 1910, Japan and Russia signed an agreement excluding specifically all foreign interference. It was a rebuff to the United States, the nature of which could hardly be concealed by the conventions of diplomatic language. Further limitation of American influence came indirectly through the revolution in China. Prior to the revolution, Japan and Russia had insisted on joining a syndicate which was planning an extensive loan to China. *The Six Power Loan*, as it was called, was first delayed through the outbreak of the revolution. Then came President Wilson's withdrawal of American participation, from some fear lest the conditions of the loan should infringe upon the sovereign rights of China. Though defended by some, this withdrawal has been more generally regarded as only a further step in the fatal policy of weakening the American position in the Orient. However this may be, Japan's own influence continued to grow. Every opportunity was embraced of increasing the extent and variety of her reasons for intervention. It would be difficult, perhaps impossible, to prove that Japan officially took part in the long-continued disorders which marked the presidential term of Yuan Shi-k'ai. It would be as impossible to claim that she did not use every available opportunity to make assured her sovereignty in Eastern Asia. The fact that Yuan had been *persona non grata* to Japan ever since the time when he functioned as Chinese Resident in Korea undoubtedly militated against the success of his government. Unsettled conditions, moreover, played into the hands of Japan as certainly as the comparative weakness of American diplomacy had done in the preceding decade.

Japanese immigration to America

Though the emigration of laborers was not legalized in Japan until 1885, a few drifted over to America by various channels as early as 1841. Between 1861 and 1870, 218 Japanese came to the United States. In the years from 1901 to 1908 the number steadily increased, but the arrivals dropped from 9,544 in 1908 to 2,432 in 1909. These figures do not include those who, as indentured laborers, had come to the Hawaiian Islands prior to their annexation to the United States. After the annexation in 1898 the coming of Japanese laborers from Hawaii did much to increase American hostility. In 1910, the Japanese residents in the United States numbered 72,000 and 57,000 of these were on the Pacific coast. The earliest expression of the cry: "The Japs must go," was in 1887 when there were only 400 in all California. Yoshio Markino, the artist, describes his introduction to American courtesy on landing at San Francisco, in July, 1893. "I went to Golden Gate Park," he says, "with another Japanese. Whenever we passed before the crowds they shouted '*Jap*' and '*Sukebei*' (the latter word is too rude to translate). Then some of them even spat on us. When we came out to the corner of Geary Street, pebbles were showered upon us."[4] The appearance of bubonic plague in San Francisco in 1899 led to the strengthening of the agitation, though there was no reason for connecting the arrival of the plague with the Japanese. In

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[4] Yoshio Markino, *Recollections and Reflections of a Japanese Artist.*

1901, the exclusion of Japanese was demanded with yet greater vehemence and the *Asiatic Exclusion League,* formed in 1905, began to exercise more and more pressure on public bodies. Hence, in May, 1905, the passing of the order for separate schools by the Board of Education. The carrying out of this policy was, however, delayed by the great earthquake and fire till the next year. It is interesting to note that, at the time these separate schools were created, there were only ninety-three pupils, sixty of them under sixteen years of age, and scattered over twenty-three different schools, who came under the ruling. Secretary Metcalf, sent by President Roosevelt to investigate the matter, reported as follows: "Many of the foremost educators of the State . . . are strongly opposed to the action of the San Francisco Board of Education. Japanese are admitted to the University of California, an institution maintained and supported by the State. They are also admitted and gladly welcomed at Stanford University. San Francisco, so far as known, is the only city which has discriminated against Japanese children."

Further immigration of Japanese was disallowed by Congress in 1907 and, by proclamation, Mr. Roosevelt forbade their coming from Hawaii, Mexico, and Canada. *The Gentlemen's Agreement* was made by negotiation with Tokyo, whereby Japan promised not to give passports to Japanese laborers proceeding to the United States. This agreement until its supersession by the Immigration Bill of 1924, was maintained with unquestioned good faith. Yet the campaign in California continued and successive sessions of the Legislature were flooded with exclusion bills. These culminated in the *Alien Landowners Bill* which, after some rebuffs, was passed by the Legislature and signed by the Governor on May 19, 1913. The question then took on the character which has since proved a considerable obstacle to harmonious relations between Japan and the United States.

It may be said that there were few on either side of the Pacific who favored a policy of unrestricted immigration. The great desire was for the adoption of such a plan as should avoid unjust discrimination between races. In Australia, where the desire for Japanese exclusion was at least as strong as in California, discrimination was avoided by the employment of a dictation test, which could be manipulated to keep out the undesirables of any race or color. In Canada, where also the objection to the entrance of Japanese laborers was strong, the question was settled by the Canadian Mission of November, 1907, under Mr. Lemieux, which obtained from the Japanese Minister of Foreign Affairs an undertaking to adopt such measures as were needed to prevent immigration.

Beyond the question of the admission of Japanese to the United States was that of granting citizenship to those already resident. On this point Professor Millis writes: "My own opinion is that the naturalization law should be so changed as to make the aliens of all races eligible to citizenship. Such a law would be based upon good principle and would do much to foster good feeling on the part of Asiatics towards the United States,—an end greatly to be desired." [5]

Still beyond this lies the larger question of consideration and kindly feeling which might be so easily and so much more evidently shown to the Orientals and other alien races who have come to sojourn among us. On this point the writer said some years ago:

> Frank and honorable relations between the State Departments of Oriental nations and our own, equally removed from doctrinaire sentimentalism and from pandering to popular prejudice; intelligent and humane administration of existing laws respecting

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[5] H. A. Millis, *The Japanese Problem in the United States; see also Japan's Message to America* (edited by Naoichi Masaoka); Yamato Ichihashi, *Japanese Immigration: Its Status in California;* S. L. Gulick, *The American-Japanese Problem.*

immigrants; encouragement of the intercourse which shall promote mutual understanding and good-will;—these are the factors which will make the human more conspicuous than the racial and link together the two shores of the Pacific with the bond of honorable and lasting peace.[6]

Death of the Emperor

The Marquis Saionji was still premier when the whole nation received a terrible shock in the death, early on the morning of July 30, 1912, of the Emperor Mutsuhito. During the brief illness which preceded this event many were the incidents which testified to the love and loyalty of the dying monarch's people. Perhaps none is more touching than the story of the little girl who cut off her hair to present at a shrine with prayers for the Emperor's recovery. The deceased ruler had reigned for forty-five years as a liberal sovereign in the truest sense of the word. The passionate loyalty which was exhibited through all these years to the Throne was due as much to the Emperor's personal character as to the age-long belief of the people in his divine descent. The Emperor had lived a life of Spartan simplicity and of unwearying effort for the good of his subjects. He made himself distinguished for his humanity and charity on every occasion of suffering and need. He was also devoted to the arts and an accomplished writer of the short Japanese poems which are known as tanka. Dead, he lost the familiar name of Mutsuhito and assumed the title of the memorable age his reign had inaugurated. As Meiji Tenno his influence is still strong as ever. This is shown by the multitudes who visit worshipfully the beautiful shrine at Tokyo which preserves the idea of his spiritual presence. That Japanese are still ready to die for him is illustrated by the story of the little boy who, rescuing his Emperor's picture from the burning schoolhouse, had no place to hide it from the flames but in his own body which he opened unhesitatingly with his knife. Only the charred body revealed the story of a triumphant sacrifice.

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[6] H. H. Gowen, *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science,* Vol. CXXII (1909), p. 117.

The *London Times,* in the course of an obituary editorial, expressed the general estimation of mankind as follows:

> By the death of the Emperor Mutsuhito Japan loses a monarch venerated almost to the point of worship, the world one of its most remarkable men, and Great Britain a faithful and trusted ally. His reign will probably remain forever the most memorable in the long annals of Japan. Under him Japan burst the bonds which had for so many centuries constrained her, and took her place, mailed and serene, among the Great Powers of the world. He saw the whole process from the beginning, helped to guide it aright, and won for himself enduring remembrance in the history of the East.

The funeral, on September 13, consisted of a series of impressive ceremonials with the traditional and archaic symbolism of Shinto. The funeral car, drawn by five oxen chosen for their special color, was so constructed that the wheels made seven different, melancholy creaking sounds as they revolved, "the peculiar effect being the exclusive art of a family of carpenters at Kyoto whose forefathers have constructed many a bier for the Imperial house."

A startling episode in connection with the funeral rites was the suicide of General Maresuke Nogi and his wife at the moment when the imperial procession started. The grim soldier, who had borne with a samurai's courage the death of his two sons at Port Arthur, was missed from the funeral *cortège* of the Emperor he had so effectually served. There were those, however, who asserted that, in the form of a pale blue flame, his freed spirit had been perceived hovering above the imperial hearse. As evening fell, the two bodies were found weltering in blood in the humble little home which is still visited by so many thousands of admiring pilgrims. It was a startling revival of the old practice of *junshi* ('following in death'). "An extraordinarily deep impression," writes a correspondent, "has been made upon the nation by the tragic end of one who was universally admired and acknowledged to be the finest flower of the military tradition of Japan and who had been in fact *sans peur et sans reproche.*" [7]

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[7] *See also* Stanley Washburn, *Nogi.*

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE NEW ERA OF TAISHO

The new Emperor

Immediately after the passing away of Meiji Tenno two out of the three sacred treasures of the Empire, the sword and the jewel, were committed to the new sovereign, Yoshihito, with whom was inaugurated the era of *Taisho* ('Great Righteousness'). The third treasure, the mirror, remained, as was customary, in the great shrine at Ise.

Yoshihito Harunomiya, the third son of Mutsohito, was born on August 31, 1879, was made heir-apparent on August 31, 1887, and was proclaimed Crown Prince, November 3, 1888. He was married to Sadako, daughter of Prince Kujo, on May 10, 1900. At the time of his accession he had three sons, the eldest of whom, the present Prince Regent, *Hirohito,* was born April 29, 1901. The coronation did not take place till November, 1915, and was, as usual on such occasions, a strange blend of the archaic and the ultra modern. Among the most significant of the rites was the *Dai Josai,* which goes back to a time of immemorial antiquity. In a primitive hut of unhewn timbers bound together with vines the Emperor kept his ten hours' vigil. Here the priests made the motion of pouring hot water over him seven times from a wooden ladle. Here he made obeisance to the sacred sword and the sacred jewel. Here he made his communion with the gods, in three helpings of rice, four cups of white sake, and four cups of black sake. Here he reported to the gods his assumption of the imperial authority.

Ere this significant ceremony had taken place the realm was once again shadowed by death. A wave of genuine grief passed over the land in the spring of 1914 when it was announced that the widowed Empress of Meiji Tenno had passed away. Though not the mother of the new Emperor, the deceased lady was bound to him and to his family, as well as to the nation at large, by most affectionate ties. Once again the quaint procession of oxen and creaking wheels expressed "the woe of the inarticulate." Once again the love and loyalty of the populace flowed forth unstintedly. The dead Empress was laid to her last rest in Kyoto and her spirit venerated among the kami as the Empress Shoken.

Domestic politics

The Marquis Saionji's Ministry did not long survive the accession of the new Emperor. Its downfall came about through the insistence of the War Minister, General Uyehara, upon retaining two army divisions in Korea. As the cabinet was embarked upon a policy of economy and as no other soldier would accept the War Office without the two divisions, Saionji had no alternative but to resign. After something of a deadlock, *Katsura,* now Prince Katsura, patriotically offered to fill the gap, but the rising tide of democratic feeling suspected his motives and a resolution of "No Confidence," moved by Mr. Ozaki in the Lower House, created so much feeling that the aged statesman felt obliged to resign. He began at once the formation of a new party which was called *Rikken Doshikai* ('The Constitutional Crusader's Association'), destined to be influential enough in the after years. But the banner of leadership soon fell from the failing hands of Prince Katsura and before 1912 was ended he was dead. He had been accused of "appealing too frequently to the Emperor for protection" and his death, from cancer, was that of a humbled and disappointed man.

In February, 1913, came the *Yamamoto* Ministry, but this was brought to an end in a few months by what is known as the "Naval Scandal." This implicated quite a number of men, some of them high in official position, who had accepted bribes from the Siemens-Schuckert Company in obtaining the contract for building a Japanese warship.

Another deadlock followed, during which Prince Tokugawa and Viscount Kiyoura vainly attempted the formation of a cabinet. At last, on April 14, 1914, "the grand old man of Waseda," Count Okuma, accepted the task with the assistance of Prince Katsura's new party, the *Doshikai.* The leader of this party, Baron Kato, became the new Foreign Minister. It was to this cabinet that the responsibility fell of deciding upon entrance into the Great War. The room is still shown in which the epoch-making decision was made.

Japan enters the World War

On August 1, 1914, the Great War burst upon a startled and bewildered world. It was soon evident that Japan was ready, both in the spirit and in the letter, to observe whatever obligations she had incurred by her alliance with Great Britain. "It is with profound regret," ran the imperial edict, "that We, in spite of Our ardent devotion to the cause of peace, are thus compelled to declare war, especially at this early period of Our reign and while We are still in mourning for Our lamented Mother." Baron Kato explained in the Diet that "Japan had no desire or inclination to become involved in the present conflict, but she believed she owed it to herself to be faithful to the Alliance and to strengthen its foundation by ensuring permanent peace in the East and protecting the special interests of the two Allied Powers." On August 15, Japan issued an ultimatum asking Germany to withdraw all warships from Chinese and Japanese waters and deliver up by September 15 the entire leased territory of *Kiaochau* with a view to its eventual restoration to China. It is said that the demand was—with intentional sarcasm—modeled upon that which Germany, nearly twenty years previously, had made for the retrocession of the Liaotung peninsula. As no answer was vouchsafed by Germany prior to August 23, war was declared by Japan on the following day. It has been stated that negotiations were already proceeding between Germany and China for the abandonment, at least temporarily, of *Tsingtao,* but, in any case, the initiative was with Japan. The first Japanese troops were landed on September 2, and these were presently joined by a small Anglo-Indian force under General Barnardistone. The bombardment of the forts began on October 31 and was so vigorously prosecuted that the defenders surrendered on November 7. The Allied troops made formal occupation of the conquered port on November 16. Even before the end of the siege of Tsingtao, the Japanese fleet had destroyed in a few days the German prestige in the Pacific by the capture of the largest of the *Marshall* Islands on October 6, the seizure of *Yap* on the day following, and the occupation of all the Marshalls, *Ladrones* and *Carolines* by October 20. Of the further services of Japan to the Allied cause in the Great War we shall have occasion to speak a little later.

The Twenty-one Demands

Within two months of the taking of Tsingtao the world was startled by an application to China at the hands of Japan of the doctrine of maximum pressure. On January 18, 1915, Dr. Hioki, the Japanese Minister at Peking, personally served upon President Yuan Shih-k'ai what are known as the Twenty-one Demands. These demands, arranged in five groups, may be roughly summarized as follows:

Group I dealt with the recently acquired territory in Shantung, securing the transfer to Japan of all the privileges included in Germany's lease and asking China's promise that no future lease to any third Power of territory in the Province of Shantung should be considered.

Group II asked the acknowledgment of Japan's special position in Manchuria and Eastern Mongolia, and extension of the lease of Port Arthur to a period of ninety-nine years and certain rights of residence, mining, and railway building by Japanese subjects in these territories.

Group III demanded that the Hanyehping Mining Company should become the joint concern of Japan and China, thus carrying Japanese influence into the valley of the Yangtze.

Group IV asked the Chinese Government to agree that "no island, port or harbor along the coast shall be ceded or leased to any third Power."

Group V may be quoted *in extenso,* since it was around these points that the bitterest controversy raged.

Article 1. The Chinese Government shall employ forceful Japanese as advisers in political, financial and military affairs.

Article 2. In the interior of China Japanese shall have the right of ownership of land for the building of Japanese hospitals, churches and schools.

Article 3. Since the Japanese Government and the Chinese Government had many cases of dispute between Japanese and Chinese police to settle, cases which caused no inconsiderable misunderstanding, it is for this reason necessary that the police of important places (in China) shall be jointly administered (by Japanese and Chinese) or that the (Chinese) police department of the places shall employ numerous Japanese for the purpose of organizing and improving the Chinese police service.

Article 4. China shall purchase from Japan a fixed ration of the quantity of munitions of war (say above 50 per cent) or Japan shall establish in China a jointly worked arsenal, Japanese technical experts to be employed and Japanese material to be purchased.

Article 5. China agrees to Japan's right to build a railway connecting Wuchang with Kiukiang and Nanchang; also a line between Wuchang and Hangchow and a line between Nanchang and Chiaochow.

Article 6. China agrees that in the Province of Fukien, Japan shall have the right to work mines and build railways and to construct harbor works (including dockyards) and in case of employing foreign capital, Japan shall be first consulted.

Article 7. China agrees that Japanese subjects shall have the right to propagate Buddhism in China.[1]

It must be confessed that when the news of the demands was generally printed in March, 1915, a rather painful impression was created, especially in the United States. But,

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[1] For text of the Twenty-one Demands *see* Henry Chung, *The Oriental Policy of the United States,* Appendix N, pp. 271 ff.

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before describing the sequel, it is important to remember certain essential facts.

That Okuma was finding it necessary to secure support for his rather heterogeneous combination of parties against the Seiyukai by the presentation of "a strong policy" is obvious. In this he felt justified in overlooking no "point which might serve to place Japan on a footing of equality in all respects with Western countries." Hence his request for concessions in the matter of advisers and religious propaganda similar to those which had been won by the Western Powers. We must also in this connection allow for the Oriental spirit of bargaining which always asks for more than it expects to receive eventually. As Professor Payson Treat puts it: "The treaties which finally resulted contained very great modifications in the terms and included practically nothing which China was not prepared to yield at the very beginning of the long discussion." Okuma was therefore justified in giving out that "the negotiations between us and China were nearing a satisfactory conclusion."

As to the exacerbation of feeling in the United States, there is little doubt that much was due to deliberate attempts to sow discord between Japan and her European Allies, and that much criticism was in ignorance of the facts since revealed by the correspondence published in the Reports of the American Foreign Office. Professor Treat points out that it was in connection with the desire of the United States to secure a coaling station at Samsah Inlet, north of Foochow—a point as strategically dangerous to Japan as a Japanese coaling station would be in the Bermudas—that Group IV was pressed upon China.

> We also learned [adds Dr. Treat, that is, by the publication of the American reports] that the American Department of State, after a careful scrutiny of the Japanese demands and in the light of information received from our representatives in Peking and Tokyo, informed Japan that in respect to sixteen of the demands it was not disposed to raise any question. These included the

demands regarding Shantung Province, for which Japan was so roundly denounced in the United States four years later, and regarding South Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mongolia. Only five of the demands seemed objectionable to our State Department, two of these on the ground that they would be a violation of the principle of the "Open Door" and three because they were "clearly derogatory to the political independence and administrative entity of that country." Japan acceded to our suggestions in every case. Four of the demands were dropped, and the fifth was changed to an exchange of notes which, following our suggestion, stated that China would not permit any Power "to construct a dockyard, a coaling station for military use, or a naval base, or to set up any other military establishment on the coast of Fukien Province, nor shall they allow any like establishment to be set up with any foreign capital on the said coast." In other words, there was absolutely nothing in the Sino-Japanese treaties of 1915 to which the American Government had taken the slightest offence.[2]

To go back a little, after the statement by Okuma that "the uneasiness and suspicion in the United States in connection with Japanese negotiations at Peking are based on misunderstanding and misinformation scattered broadcast by interested mischief-makers," Group V was withdrawn. It was announced that these particular demands were not intended to be enforced at the present time but were only presented as principles which it was considered well that China should indorse. In a revised form the demands were presented again on April 26 and, upon China replying with further protest, an ultimatum was dispatched on May 7 by Japan which on the following day was accepted.

China, however, continued to show her dissatisfaction by a boycott of Japanese goods and by the raising of a fund known as the *National Salvation Fund.* Years afterwards, even when the Treaty of 1915 was to the world outside of

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[2] Payson Treat, "Our Asiatic Neighbors," *Washington Historical Quarterly,* April, 1926; for the Chinese side *see* Putnam Weale, *The Truth about China and Japan.*

China of little more than historical interest, the ideographs for "Remember the National Shame" continued to deface the walls and temples of China. The world at large was content for the time to rest satisfied with the solution reached, whatever might be the discontent with the past or suspicion as to the future. It had perforce to be recognized that Japan was left secure in her claim to be the dominating Power of the Far East. She had won this position by her valor, her diplomacy, and her readiness to rise at critical moments to the magnitude of her responsibilities.

The Lansing-Ishii Agreement

As setting a seal to the fact we have just mentioned, it is important to remember the agreement reached at Washington on November 2, 1917, between the governments of Japan and the United States, as represented by Viscount Ishii and Mr. Robert Lansing respectively. The substance of the agreement was not so much in any new departure as in the expression of mutual understanding of "the principles governing the two Governments in relation to China." Mr. Lansing explicitly "recognizes that Japan has special interests in China, particularly in the part to which her possessions are contiguous." After stating that "there had been unquestionably growing up between the people of the two continents a feeling of suspicion as to the motives inducing the activities of the other in the Far East," Mr. Lansing affirms that the visit of Viscount Ishii has changed all this, has swept away the work of mischievous propaganda and created an atmosphere of trust and confidence. On the first day of December, 1917, President Wilson addressed to the Emperor a fitting answer to Yoshihito's own cordial message in which it was stated that "the result of his [Viscount Ishii's] visit will be as happy and as permanent as the enduring friendship of the peoples of the United States and Japan."

It will be remembered that, soon after, several distorted versions of the agreement appeared. It was asserted that

Mr. Lansing had been hoodwinked, especially as he was ignorant at the time of Allied commitments to Japan. Before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations in 1919 Mr. Lansing stated that the phrase as to Japan's special relation to China through territorial propinquity was inserted by Ishii's own suggestion. But, in a letter from Mr. Bryan to the Japanese Ambassador, of March 13, 1915, two years before the agreement in question, the then Secretary of State wrote as follows: "The United States frankly recognizes that territorial contiguity creates special relations between Japan and these districts," that is, Shantung, South Manchuria, and East Mongolia. There was nothing whatever in the statement which was foreign to the claims of Japan or dangerous to the interests of the United States.[3]

Japan and the World War

In comparison with the literature poured forth from the press dealing with the World War as it affected France, Flanders, Great Britain, or Italy, there has been little written to tell of Japan's share in the great conflict. Of course, in the actual amount of fighting and in the loss of blood and treasure, Japan's part was comparatively insignificant. Yet it would be misleading to judge of Japan's value to the alliance by this standard. At the very least, the power and prestige of the Japanese fleet set free the navies of Great Britain and (later) of the United States for service in the Atlantic and the North Sea. In addition, there was the capture, already alluded to, of Germany's base in the Pacific, Tsingtao, and, with the coöperation of Australia and New Zealand, of the enemy's insular possessions. That Japan was able to clear the Pacific of hostile warships and commerce raiders, to force Von Spee's fleet from the Pacific to the Atlantic, where it met its doom, to help the convoying of large forces of Anzacs to Egypt and the Dardanelles, to head off German schemes for promoting uprisings in China and Manchuria, to protect the Siberian Railway, to furnish at a critical time arms and ammunition to Russia, and to assist materially the suppression of the submarine menace in the Mediterranean, not to mention the services of the five hundred Japanese volunteers from the Pacific coast who fought in the Canadian and American armies, is eloquent testimony to the loyalty and efficiency of the support rendered in the Allied cause. The steady adhesion of Japan to the great cause—in spite of whatever temptation to the contrary—in spite even of anti-British propaganda prior to the entrance of America—made Asia safe and greatly lessened the anxiety of those nations which were called upon to bear the brunt of the conflict in the West.

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[3] For the text of the Lansing-Ishii Notes, *see* Putnam Weale, *op. cit.*, p. 157 ff.

Domestic affairs during and after the War

Mr. Wilson's famous assertion that the War was meant to make the world safe for democracy had its echoes in many different directions. These were clearly audible in Japan, as elsewhere. Dr. Jenks states that as early as 1900 Prince Ito's trusted lieutenants foresaw the steps by which the Japanese Government was to move away from the German ideals, which had once been entertained, to something like the system of party responsibility prevailing in Great Britain. The formation of the Seiyukai was an indication of this, while the career of men like Mr. Yukio Ozaki, the leader of a more extreme liberal party, is striking witness to the growing desire for fuller democratization of the nation, without thereby weakening the thread of loyalty to the Throne which runs through the entire fabric of Japanese history.

The wonderful industrial development made possible by the World War had the immediate result of increasing the wealth of Japan beyond all precedent. Whereas before this there had been annual additions to the national debt approximating ninety million dollars, the government was now able to redeem many of its foreign loans and increase its gold reserve to the amount of a billion dollars.

But there was a bad side to it all, for while the profiteers, or *narikin* (literally 'become gold'), rioted in luxury and extravagance, others began to feel the increased cost of living and to breathe a spirit of discontent with the atmosphere of "democracy." In consequence, strikes began once more to be common. The Labor Movement, it should be remembered, inaugurated by socialists of the type of Katayama about 1897, had been suppressed by the application of Article 17 of the Public Order Police Law of 1900, with the result that Trade Unions were practically unknown again till 1916. But in 1917 there were 417 strikes, affecting over 60,000 workers, and a year later, in spite of better times, there were 497. In August of 1918 occurred the "rice riots" of Kobe which led to the downfall of the Terauchi Ministry. There was quite a popular demand for a new government more in sympathy with popular aspirations and the first commoner to head a Japanese ministry was found in the person of *Mr. Takashi Hara,* leader of the Seiyukai, in succession to Saionji. Mr. Hara was not a graduate of any university, but had had long experience of political life. He was for some years Ito's right-hand man and had served his country as consul in Tientsin, *chargé d'affaires* at Paris, Vice-Minister of Commerce, Minister in Korea, and Minister for Home Affairs before taking the premiership.

Political and social progress was now the order of the day and a perfect furor for democracy took the place of the earlier militarism. Some of the movements now represented were, of course, of earlier origin and inspiration. The *Yuan Kai* ('Laborers' Friendly Association') was founded in 1912 by a young Christian lawyer, *Bunji Suzuki.* The factory law, forbidding the employment of children under twelve, except for light work and with special permission, also the employment of children and women for more than twelve hours a day, and providing for at least thirty minutes rest within the first six hours of work, had been passed in 1911, but had been put in force (and even then with some reservations) only in 1916. But now welfare work of the most various kinds began to be popular and attention was drawn to industrial conditions in the factories and mines demanding sympathy and reform. A good illustration of the quickening of conscience in social matters is to be found in the career of *Mr. Toyohiko Kagawa,* of Kobe, whose remarkable work, *Crossing the Death Line,* has gone through over three hundred editions. "The Saint of the Shinkawa Slums," is a Japanese St. Francis of Assisi who has lived literally the Sermon on the Mount, passing through a period of temptation and mental struggle into a life of consecrated service for his fellow men. The authorities at first considered him a dangerous radical, but "are at last waking up to the fact that [he] represents one of the strongest conservative forces among laborers in Japan." [4]

The completion in 1918 of fifty years since the return of the Sun Goddess from her cavern of seclusion may afford us a good opportunity for the briefest possible summary of conditions in Japan as they were at the point to which we have now come.

The jubilee of the restoration

Politically, Japan was in 1918 still in the age of experiment, though not a few steps had been made with brilliant success. That the constitution had always worked well not even its warmest friends would have admitted, but it was gradually becoming more and more efficient. There was less need, as the years went on, for that rapidly diminishing body of the Elder Statesmen, the *Genro,* who had rendered such great service in Meiji.[5] The cry was now for *ninsei, ninken,* and *jiyu,* that is, popular government, popular rights, and liberty. And, with it all, there was the recognition of the nation's ability to continue without a break the eager quest for democratic forms of government in harmony with the age-long devotion to the Throne and its august occupant. Quoting a stanza written by the late Empress Dowager to the effect that

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[4] H. W. Myers, quoted in Galen Fisher, *Creative Forces in Japan,* p. 105.

[5] The earlier leaders of the restoration movement never received the appellation of Genro, or Elder Statesmen. We generally associate the term with statesmen such as Yamagata, Ito, Oyama, Katsura, Inouye, Matsugata, Okuma, and Saionji. *See* J. H. Gubbins, *The Making of Modern Japan,* pp. 302 ff.

> However shallow the mountain rivulet,
> If dammed up, it will overflow;
> So will it happen with the sentiments of the people,

Mr. Ozaki about this time affirmed that the future of Japan would not belie the fundamental secret of government which guides and acts upon the popular sentiment.[6]

Materially the progress of Japan up to this point was without precedent. The *area* of the Empire had increased from 144,000 square miles to 257,673. The *population,* roughly estimated in 1868 at 30,000,000 was, at the close of 1916, 77,289,494, with an average yearly increase of some 600,000. The *revenue* of the Empire from 1872 to 1917 had increased from 58 to 714 million *yen,* drawn in large part from the taxes on land, income, liquors, and customs duties. Foreign *trade* had increased by leaps and bounds, and the *shipping,* which in 1868 was a negative quantity, amounted in 1893 to 15,000 tons and before the end of the Great War to over 2,000,000 tons, with great companies like Nippon Yusen Kaisha, Toyo Kisen Kaisha, and Osaka Shosen Kaisha, sending out their vessels to the ends of the earth. *Railways,* which were inaugurated in 1872 by the opening of a line eighteen miles in length, now extended over 7,000 miles, of which 6,000 were the property of the State. *Mining* had become increasingly important, both in Japan proper and in Korea, with copper and coal the chief products and iron, petroleum, gold, and silver in respectable amounts. The *fisheries* were providing the food supply of a large part of the nation and occupation for nearly 2,000,000 people. Agriculture was still supporting three-fifths of the population, with 300,000,000 bushels of rice produced annually, and wheat, rye, barley, millet, potatoes, soy beans, and other crops in proportion. *Manufactures* had made enormous strides. At the close of 1915, there were nearly 17,000 factories, producing textiles, machinery, chemicals, foodstuffs, and miscellaneous goods. About 1,500,000 families were keeping up the reputation of Japan for sericulture. The *telegraph* system included 5,000 offices and over 100,000 miles of wire, with telephone stations practically everywhere. The *postal* system had over 7,000 offices in the Empire and at Tokyo there were twelve daily deliveries of mail.[7]

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[6] Yukio Ozaki, *The Voice of Japanese Democracy* (1918).

In her dependencies Japan had made notable advance. Twenty-years' rule in *Taiwan* had subjugated the head-hunters, established drains, sewers, and a water system in the capital, built 4,000 miles of roads and many miles of light railways, made extensive harbor works, established trade in tea, salt, rice, sugar, and camphor, and in short turned a liability into a flourishing asset. In *Korea* progress had been slower but over 1,000 miles of railway had been opened by the end of 1917 and many important reforms carried out.[8]

Intellectually, development kept pace well with the economic advance. Elementary, secondary, university, and technical education had played a great part in training young Japan for her enhanced share in international life. There were 4 Imperial Universities, with 10,000 students, and 25,000 schools attended by 8,250,000 pupils. In 1906, 98 per cent of the boys and 95 per cent of the girls were in actual attendance. The private universities and missionary schools were also contributing their part, and educational authorities were keenly alert to make reforms when discovered and needed.[9]

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[7] For statistics *see* Joseph I. C. Clarke, *Japan at First Hand,* Appendix.

[8] *Annual Report of Reform and Progress in Chosen,* 1916.

[9] Baron Kikuchi, *Japanese Education.*

In *literature* Japan had passed with the swing of a pendulum from the craze for Western books to a reaction in favor of Japanese literature and again to a more synthetic and balanced use of things both native and foreign. The native schools of philosophy and fiction were jostling the devotees of Nietzsche and Tolstoy, and revival of the No drama was at rivalry with enthusiasm for the Irish drama. Attempts had been made to amalgamate the written and spoken languages and to supersede the *kana* with *Romaji.* But so far, while foreign textbooks were commonly used in the schools, the Japanese language and script continued to hold their own. Foreign wars had brought about an immense advance in *journalism.* Periodicals on every conceivable subject abounded. In 1914 there were registered 2,719 periodicals, of which 861 were newspapers. Several years later there were six newspapers in Tokyo and Osaka each with a daily circulation of 200,000 copies or over, while other influential journals were printed in English.[10]

In *art,* though the bad taste of foreigners often placed a premium on inferior work, the encouragement given by the government to painting and sculpture, the publication of copies of old masterpieces, the establishment of institutions such as the *Tokyo Art School,* the personal efforts of teachers like Okakura Kakuzo, and, above all, the innate artistic sense of the Japanese people, have kept things along the right path.[11]

In *religion* there was, of course, much that was chaotic. Shinto had become for many a political philosophy rather than a religion, with its traditional ritual on important national occasions. But there was, nevertheless, a religious Shinto which should not be overlooked. Thirteen Shinto sects were officially recognized, with 14,000 priests and 120,000 shrines. *Buddhism* was marked by many serious attempts at reform, but had on the whole lost ground. There were 12 recognized Buddhist sects, with 50,000 priests and 70,000 temples. The ethics of *Confucius* had considerable vogue, but many of the younger men felt that Confucianism was out of harmony with Western civilization. *Christianity* had grown steadily and probably at this time, including all church bodies, numbered close to 200,000 professed believers. Okuma, in 1909, summed up the religious condition as follows: "Japan at present may be likened to a sea into which a hundred currents of Oriental and Occidental thought have poured, and, not having yet effected a fusion, are raging wildly, tossing, warring and roaring." "The old religions and old morals are steadily losing their hold and nothing has yet arisen to take their place." "A portion of our people go neither by the old code of ethics and etiquette nor by those of modern days, while they are also disinclined to conform to those of foreign countries, and such persons convey the impression of neither possessing nor being governed by any ideas about morality, public or private."

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[10] Walter Dening, "Japanese Modern Literature," *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan.* June, 1913.

[11] Huish, *Japan and Its Art.*

That the situation was not without its anxieties is shown by the convoking of a *Tri-Religion Conference* in March, 1912, by the then Vice-Minister of Home Affairs, when fifty Shinto, Buddhist, and Christian representatives assembled to discuss how they might best meet the spiritual needs of the nation. That such anxiety existed was proof positive that those responsible for the moral welfare of the nation were not asleep at their posts.

CHAPTER XXIX

AFTERMATHS OF THE GREAT WAR

The Siberian expedition

After the collapse of the Russian Imperial Government and the freeing of the Austro-German prisoners who had hitherto been held in large numbers, the question arose as to the best means of assisting the contingent of Czecho-Slovaks who were desirous of joining the Allied forces on the western front. It was obvious that the easiest route for these to take was by way of Siberia, but it was also obvious that some Allied assistance was required to enable them to escape from the Bolshevist force in control of the territory. At the invitation of the Allied Board, following, however, upon a Japanese suggestion, Japan sent an expedition with this object and, with similarly invited contingents of British, American, French, Chinese, and Italian troops. The whole force was placed under the Japanese general, Otani, as the ranking officer, and, although the coöperation between the elements of so mixed an army was not without its weakness, the ability of the commanding officer was generally conceded. The result was a successful penetration of Asia from Vladivostok to the Trans-Baikal provinces, the protection of the railway lines, and the relief of the Czecho-Slovakian forces.

When the War came to an end, the Allied troops were gradually withdrawn, first the English and French, then the Italian and Chinese. In January, 1920, the United States also ordered the withdrawal of its soldiers, leaving the Japanese alone to guard the railways and complete the transportation of the refugees. When this had been achieved, Japan also left the Trans-Baikal and the Amur provinces.

Siberia could not be evacuated so easily for an obvious reason. There were many thousands of Japanese doing business in Siberia who could not be left to the mercy of the Bolshevists. As it was, in the March of 1920 a terrible massacre of Japanese took place at *Nikolaievsk* for which satisfaction was not given by Russia until the signing of the Treaty of 1925. The number of Japanese murdered has been estimated as from 350 to 700 and included the Japanese Consul, Ishida, with his whole family. It was this massacre, perpetrated by a guerrilla band of Bolshevists known as the "Partisans," together with the menacing situation on the Korean frontier, which justified delay in the Japanese departure from the Maritime Province and North Manchuria until October, 1922. It had proved for Japan a sufficiently costly expedition, with little or no compensating features. Eleven divisions of troops had been sent, and of these 1,475 officers and men were killed and about 10,000 wounded. The total cost was not less $700,000,000. Northern Sakhalin was not evacuated till after Japan's treaty with Russia in 1925.

It should be added that the joint efforts of Japan and China for the heading off of the Bolshevist terror brought about the *Sino-Japanese Agreement* of March, 1918, which a little later was the cause of no little agitation among the Chinese nationalist party.[1] The borrowings by Tuan Chi-jui and his associates from Japan at this juncture made the name of the An-Fu Club a red rag to the Chinese patriots.

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[1] The Sino-Japanese Agreement of March, 1918, was avowedly made "in view of the daily increasing strength of the enemy, within the borders of Russia, the result of which cannot help but be a menace to the peace and tranquillity of the entire Far East." It counted upon joint military and naval action, and preparation towards that end. The full text of this agreement is given by Putnam Weale, *The Truth about China and Japan,* pp. 160 ff.

It may be explained that the *An-Fu Club* (representing the provinces of Anhui and Fukien) designates the Chinese political party supposedly in sympathy with Japan and the Japanese imperialistic aims. *See* H. H. Gowen and J. W. Hall, *An Outline History of China,* pp. 472 ff.

In consequence, Japan decided in March, 1919, to lend no more money to China and the pact of 1918 was eventually, in January, 1921, annulled. Meanwhile Sino-Japanese affairs were being hotly debated in the press of the United States and, under cover of the Peace Conference, at Versailles.

Japan at the Peace Conference

In the conference held at Versailles in 1919 for the settlement of peace terms following the Great War Japan naturally played a leading rôle. She was represented by several of her leading statesmen, Marquis (afterwards Prince) Saionji, Baron (afterwards Viscount) Makino, Viscount (afterwards Count) Chinda, Mr. (afterwards Baron) Matsui, and Mr. (afterwards Baron) K. Ijuin. There were two questions deeply interesting to Japan, in the interest of that new world which it was hoped the conference was about to usher in. First, was the Japanese proposal, introduced and ably argued by Baron Makino, that "the equality of nations being a basic principle of the League of Nations, the High Contracting Powers agree to accord, as soon as possible, to all alien nationals of the states members of the league equal and just treatment in every respect, making no distinction, either in law or in fact, on account of their race or nationality." This was ultimately withdrawn in face of the determined opposition of the United States and the overseas dominions of Great Britain, though eleven votes out of seventeen were cast in favor of the proposal. Secondly, there was the distribution of the captured German possessions in the Pacific. The United States did not like the increase of Japanese influence in the Pacific and Mr. Wilson proposed the administration of all the groups by Australia. But, in view of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance and the actual contribution of Japan to the War, Great Britain could not disallow the claims of the Island Empire. So Japan was awarded, under mandate issued on May 7, 1919, the islands north of the equator, including the Caroline, Pellew, Ladrone, and Marshall groups, and the island of Yap. All islands south of the equator were given to New Zealand and Australia.

Now arose the thorny question of the disposal of the German leases at *Tsingtao.* Before putting in her claim to the reversion of these leases, Japan had endeavored to settle the matter directly with China, even as she had earlier announced her intention to do. But the Chinese delegates refused, being plainly afraid of the complacency of the Peking Government. Mr. Wellington Koo made an able presentation of the Chinese case and Baron Makino replied, using the notes of the secret Motono-Tuan agreement between China and Japan in 1915. The Chinese, who regarded Prime Minister Tuan as Japan's tool, were immovable and appealed for a decision. Then President Wilson, who was personally favorable to the Chinese side of the contention, allowed his fears for the safety of the League of Nations to affect his action. France and Great Britain had been so far committed to the side of Japan by arrangements made prior to the entry of America into the War that their attitude was a foregone conclusion. So when the conference reconvened in April, Mr. Wilson, who had already had to oppose Japan in the matter of racial equality, and was afraid a further rebuff might send her away from the Conference altogether, aided in the rejection of China's plea. He was probably convinced that the matter could be disposed of by the League of Nations, if not by direct negotiations between China and Japan. It was clear that the action taken at Versailles was not the last word on the subject. "American opinion ran strongly in favor of China, though it is a little difficult to separate what was sincerely pro-Chinese from what was partisan hostility—now beginning to show itself in the American Senate—against President Wilson and the League of Nations." [2]

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[2] H. H. Gowen, *Asia: a Short History,* p. 300.

Korean disturbances and reforms

The repercussion of Mr. Wilson's famous declaration as to the rights of self-determination was felt all the way from Ireland to Eastern Asia. Korea felt the full force of the new aspiration, especially as the spread of the new doctrine coincided with the harsh and militaristic administration of Governor-General Count *Hasegawa.* About 150,000 Koreans had fled from this régime into Manchuria and those who were left began bitterly to complain of taxation without representation, the gagging of the press, discrimination in education in favor of Japanese, rudeness on the part of officials, and so on. So came about the remarkable Passive Revolution of 1919. The immediate occasion was the funeral of the old ex-Emperor. While the Korean population of the capital were crying their *Mansei* (*Banzai*) in the funeral procession, their leaders appeared before the officials, showed a declaration of independence which they had signed, and offered themselves for prison. The authorities were taken so much by surprise that they acted vigorously rather than wisely. Probably the fault lay rather with the gendarmerie than with the regular soldiers, but a period of suppression was inaugurated in which the stupidity as well as the harshness of the officials was strongly in evidence. Disturbances broke out in 618 places and for 60 days the rioters, numbering half a million, kept up their demonstrations. The reports of the slain during the period of suppression vary all the way from 1,000 to 50,000 with the probability rather in favor of the smaller figure. The news broadcast through the world with regard to this reign of terror created everywhere a painful impression and did not add to the popularity of Japan in the United States. But a mistaken policy was soon corrected by the resignation of the unpopular General Hasegawa and the appointment of a singularly able and humane statesman, Baron Makoto *Saito.* An imperial rescript was promulgated in August, 1919, in which it was stated: "We are persuaded that the state of development at which the general situation has now arrived calls for certain reforms in the administrative organization of the Government-General of Korea, and We issue Our Imperial command that such reforms be put into operation." These reforms, briefly stated, were as follows:

1. The replacement of the former military government with a civil government, making the Governor-Generalship open to a civil official.
2. Replacement of the gendarmerie system with an ordinary police system.
3. Establishment of non-discrimination between Japanese and Koreans.
4. Establishment of a cultural policy with a view to raising the Korean people to the same standard as the Japanese.[3]

Since the initiation of these reforms much has been done to reconcile Koreans to their position in the Empire and the situation has immensely improved from what it was before the arrival of Governor-General Saito.

A word should be said with regard to the part played by Christians and Christian missionaries in the revolutionary propaganda. Undoubtedly there were Christians, as well as believers in a new Korean religion, entitled *Ten-do-kyo*, who sympathized with the anti-Japanese propaganda. This is true also of a certain number of missionaries. But it is quite untrue to say that any considerable number of these were concerned in anything treasonable. Mr. Kiyoshi Nakari, of the Educational Affairs Bureau of Chosen, declares: 'An accusation has been directed against the Japanese Government charging that it persecuted Korean Christians and was endeavoring to hinder Christian work in Chosen. While this accusation is wholly baseless, it is equally wrong to regard the foreign missionaries as a body as inimically disposed toward the Government." [4]

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[3] Count M. Soyeshima, *Oriental Interpretations of the Far Eastern Problem*, p. 61.

[4] *La nouvelle administration de la Corée* (1922).

Distinct progress has been made since the uprising in obtaining a good understanding with the foreign missionaries, in revision of the regulations concerning religious propaganda and missionary schools, and in giving permission for religious bodies to become juridicial persons.[5]

Anti-Japanese feeling in America

The feeling on the Pacific coast against the Japanese which had been lulled during the Great War began, from 1919 onward, to show a rather violent recrudescence. Some of it was due to skillful propaganda on the part of China to secure the retrocession of the German leases in Shantung without the necessity of direct dealings between the two Oriental Powers. Few people in the United States realized that the occupied territory was only 250 square miles out of the 55,970 of the whole province, or that only 21,000 Chinese out of 25,000,000 lived within the area. Yet the feverish indignation of all China, North and South, and the vigor with which the boycott of Japanese goods was carried out, did much to affect American opinion.

But most of the anti-Japanese feeling in the United States was produced by fears of Japanese dominance on the Pacific coast. There was no serious charge that Japan had failed to keep both the letter and the spirit of the *Gentlemen's Agreement*. Still the introduction of "picture brides" for the eligible Japanese bachelors in America and the high birth rate of the first generation of Japanese immigrants created a great scare which was fanned into flame by the alarmists. The stopping of the picture-bride marriages in the spring of 1920 did little to allay this fear. It was feared that the Japanese farmers, who had been singularly successful in reclaiming and making profitable much of the waste land of California, would eventually drive out the white settlers. Although Japanese immigrants, as ineligible to citizenship, could not purchase land in their own name,

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[5] *See La Corée contemporaine* (Paris, 1921).

Japanese could lease land for periods of three years, could buy land in the name of their American-born children, or could form corporations in which Americans were financially interested. To counteract all this, the Oriental Exclusion League was formed and an initiative act, known as the *Alien Land Act,* was placed on the ballot of 1920 in the State of California. This Act prohibited land-ownership by Japanese, the leasing of agricultural lands by Japanese, the owning of land by companies or corporations in which Japanese were interested, and the owning of land by Japanese children born in the United States, unless they were removed from the guardianship of their parents. The measure was carried in November, 1920, by a vote of 668,483 to 202,086, a three to one vote, but the victory of a minority of the registered voters. The Act, thus depriving Japanese of the guardianship of their own children in respect to real property, came into force on December 9. The matter was discussed at Washington by the Japanese Ambassador, Baron Shidehara, and the American Ambassador to Tokyo, Mr. R. S. Morris (then home on leave), but the agreement to which they themselves came as to the necessity of a new treaty led to no result. The mania for anti-Japanese legislation spread from California to other states. Bills, similar to the Californian, were passed during 1921 by Washington, Colorado, Nebraska, Arizona, Oregon, and Texas.[6]

Domestic affairs

While the excitement was spreading over the 110,000 Japanese men, women, and children in the United States, certain questions of interest had arisen of more immediately domestic concern. Dissatisfaction with the Reform Bill of 1918, whereby the electorate had been increased from 1,450,000 to about 3,000,000, had produced a perfect clamor for manhood suffrage and a bill in this interest had been introduced into the Diet in February, 1920. But the government considered the time unripe for so radical a departure and the Diet was dissolved. The general election which followed on May 10 gave the government a stronger position, since the *Seiyukai* party, of which Mr. Hara was the head, had 280 members returned to the 110 who represented the next largest group, the *Kenseikai*. This result led to the temporary shelving of the demand for manhood suffrage.

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[6] K. K. Kawakami, *The Real Japanese Question.*

In the matter of an international loan for rehabilitating the affairs of China, President Wilson had by 1918 changed his mind. Acting on Mr. Reinsch's promise to China when that Power entered the War, Mr. Wilson now supported the proposal of a *Four Power Loan* put forth by the banking interests of Great Britain, France, Japan, and the United States. Japan hesitated at first and stood out for certain reservations in respect to Manchuria and Mongolia which seemed to revive the old sphere-of-influence doctrine. But, on the assurance that the object of the loan was entirely economic and free from all political character, the reservations were withdrawn. The agreement was signed on October 15, 1920, but has since remained practically a dead letter for reasons which belong to the history of China.

Meanwhile, both in Japan and outside, some concern was being felt with regard to the future of the *Anglo-Japanese Alliance*.[7] Many felt that it had served its purpose and was no longer necessary, while opinion in the United States feared lest its terms necessitated in any conflict with Japan the hostile action of her ally. As the end of the ten-year period for which the alliance had been made was due in

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[7] The Anglo-Japanese Alliance of 1902 had been renewed, first, in September, 1905 (with an alteration of the language to allow for the changed relations of Korea to Japan), and again in July, 1911. In this last treaty the important clause is Article IV, intended to head off any inference that, by the terms of the alliance, Great Britain might be called upon to assist Japan in a war against the United States. The language of the article is as follows: "Should either of the High Contracting Parties conclude a treaty of general arbitration with a third Power, it is agreed that nothing in this Agreement shall impose upon such Contracting Party an obligation to go to war with the Power with whom such arbitration treaty is in force."

July, 1921, much argument was waged to and fro over whether renewal or denunciation of the alliance were the better course. The matter was discussed at the British Imperial Conference in June, 1921, and it was then decided to let the alliance run on beyond July without taking any action whatsoever. But, as we shall see a little later, the making of the Four Power Treaty at the Washington Conference in December, 1921, was only possible after the supersession of the alliance.

A matter which interested Japan not a little at this time was the visit of the Crown Prince *Hirohito* to Europe. It was something entirely without precedent in all the 2,500 years of Japanese history and many were the hopes and fears and prayers which were wafted along with the Prince when in March, 1921, he left the Empire, accompanied by Prince Kan-in and Count Chinda. The *Katori*, on which the Prince sailed, visited Hongkong, Singapore, Bombay, Port Said, Malta, and Portsmouth, and England, France, Belgium, Holland, and Italy were the European countries which did their best to welcome their unique visitor. A return was made in September, setting at rest all the solicitude which had been felt.[8]

Two months later, owing to the continued ill-health of the Emperor, who was now quite unable to pay the necessary attention to state business, the Crown Prince was made Regent of the Empire.

The Washington Conference

For some time it had been felt in the United States that misunderstandings between the Republic and Japan were rapidly bringing the two nations within measurable distance of a terrible and wholly unnecessary war. It was in view of this hideous possibility that on the accession to power of President Harding steps were taken, through his Secretary of State, Mr. Charles E. Hughes, to stay the rivalry of the Powers in the matter of naval building programs and to make some specific agreements in the interest of the peace of the Pacific. Japan was approached informally on the subject in July, 1921, and gave ready assent to the holding of a conference with this object in mind. The delegates from the Empire consisted of Admiral Tomosaburo Kato, Prince Iyesato Tokugawa, and Mr. Masanao Hanihara, and their appointment was one of the last acts of the Premier, Mr. Takashi Hara, who was assassinated by a misguided youth on November 4.

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[8] *See* Count Yoshinori Fubara and Setsuzo Sawada, *The Crown Prince's European Tour.*

The Washington Conference opened in November, 1921, and was attended by representatives of Great Britain, France, Italy, Holland, Belgium, Portugal, China, Japan, and the United States. Officially, the meeting was called to discuss the limitation of naval armaments but it was understood that Pacific problems and problems of the Far East generally would be taken up.

The conference was of vital interest to Japan almost throughout. First, on November 12 came the startling presentation of Mr. Hughes' plan for the reduction of the naval power of Great Britain, the United States, and Japan by the scrapping of enough capital ships to make the ratio of naval strength as five-five-three. Time was needed for the consideration of so unexpected a proposal, especially by Japan, since the assassination of Premier Hara had done much to disarrange the political alignment. Public opinion also had to be taken into consideration. But, when it was learned that the United States would discontinue work on the fortification of Guam and the Philippines, the acceptance was hearty and accompanied by a good deal of relief. It was no longer thinkable that the United States and Japan would fight, since neither navy was formidable enough to be dangerous on the opposite sides of the Pacific.

The next question to come up was that of a treaty on Pacific subjects such as might render obsolete the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. This so-called *Nine Power Treaty* provided in a comprehensive way that respect should be ensured to the sovereignty, independence, and the territorial and administrative integrity of China. It offered "the fullest and most unembarrassed opportunity to China to develop and maintain for herself an effective and stable Government." It promised the influence of the Powers "for the purpose of effectually establishing and maintaining the principle of equal opportunity for the commerce and industry of all nations throughout the territory of China." It promised also "to refrain from taking advantage of conditions in China in order to seek special rights or privileges which would abridge the rights of subjects or citizens of friendly States, and from countenancing action inimical to the security of such States." There were other provisions along the same line, and if China has not benefited by them as much as was anticipated the reason is partly that she has not made easy the task of helping her and partly because it is exceedingly difficult for nine Powers to agree upon any common line of action in an emergency.

Outside the official program of the conference, but nevertheless of the first importance, was the settlement of the *Shantung* difficulty. This was largely due to the willingness of Mr. Hughes and Mr. (afterwards Lord) Balfour to "sit in" with the Chinese and Japanese delegates for the purpose of assisting an arrangement of the much-vexed question. Japan had announced her readiness to return the leased territory to China, asking only the opening of the same to foreign trade. She had not even requested the establishment of an international settlement at Tsingtao. She was also ready to permit the Consortium to apply to the three new railway lines already begun in the province, and to turn over the Tsingtao customs as an integral part of the Maritime Customs' Organization. She also promised, as soon as China was able to take over the policing, to withdraw the soldiers guarding the Tsinan Railway and to restore whatever property in the territory had been used for administrative purposes. The principal hitch was over the disposal of the *Kiaochow-Tsinan Railway,* 250 miles in length. It had been exceedingly profitable under Japanese administration and Japan did not want to transfer it to the absolute ownership of the Chinese without some guaranty as to efficient management. For China to buy the line and pay cash for it would only mean the mortgaging of the property to foreign financiers in return for a loan, in which case the interest of Japan would be simply transferred to some other nation. The matter was at last settled by China's undertaking to buy the railway from Japan on the security of treasury notes running for fifteen years, but redeemable at China's option after five. Till the redemption of the notes Japan was to appoint the traffic manager. Another Japanese was to be chief accountant, with a Chinese chief accountant possessing coördinate powers. These officials were to be under the direction and control of the Chinese managing director and removable for cause. The treaty embodying all these agreements was signed on February 1, 1922, amid the hearty felicitations of all present at the conference.

One or two other matters taken up at the Washington Conference particularly affecting Japan may be mentioned. Among the uninvited delegates to the conference were representatives from the *Far Eastern Republic,* having its headquarters at Chita. These had come to complain of the Japanese occupation of portions of Siberia and the northern part of Sakhalin. The conference disposed of the matter by accepting the assurance that no exclusive exploitation of the resources of these territories was in contemplation, and that the occupying troops would be withdrawn at the earliest possible moment.

Of particular interest to the United States was the reference in the Treaty of February 11, 1922, to that hitherto unconsidered trifle of an island, *Yap.* While the mandate awarding the former German possessions in the Pacific north of the equator to Japan was accepted, it was required that Japan should respect existing treaties with regard to the islands between the United States and Japan. It was specially provided that the United States should have free access to the island of Yap in all that related to the landing and operating of the Yap-Guam cable, or any cable which might hereafter be laid or operated by the United States connecting with the island of Yap.

On the whole, Japan was well satisfied with the results of the Washington Conference. She felt at ease with regard to possible aggressive policies on the part of other nations in China; she felt free from suspicion with regard to designs upon the Philippines (which, as a matter of fact, she could have bought for a comparatively small sum years before the American occupation); and she felt relieved from the heavy strain of naval competition with the United States. If all was not accomplished by the conference which was expected in the first flush of enthusiasm, still enough was achieved to make men grateful for the initiative of Mr. Harding and the cordial coöperation of the Pacific Powers.

CHAPTER XXX

THE GREAT EARTHQUAKE AND AFTER

Japan in 1923

The year 1923 opened quite hopefully in Japan. Mourned by the Empire which remembered all the vast services which they had rendered from the earliest days of Meiji, two great statesmen, almost the last of the Genro, passed away in 1922. These were *Okuma,* whose memory is enshrined in the University of his founding, Waseda; and *Yamagata,* whose services in war and peace outweighed in the minds of his countrymen the general conservatism of his mental outlook.

But, great as were these losses, the majority of men in Japan were now looking forward rather than backward. One of the strongest desires of the government, for example, was to reëstablish harmonious relations with Russia, China, and the United States. In the case of China, considerable progress was made and the handing over of the Tsinan railway on January 1, 1923, was the happy termination of a long-endured and thorny controversy. Japan was permitted by her arrangement with China to renew for thirty years leases in Shantung which had been made prior to the ratification of the treaty, and she was also allowed to purchase salt to a large amount from the salt works of Tsingtao for a period of fifteen years. With Russia negotiations for the settlement of the troublesome questions connected with the occupation of Sakhalin, the Nikolaievsk massacre, and Imperial Russia's debt to Japan, were not so satisfactorily proceeded with. Conferences were attempted at Dairen, Changchun, and Tokyo. Japan offered to purchase Northern Sakhalin for 150,000,000 yen and to be content with an apology for the affair at Nikolaievsk. But Russia proved obstructive and absolutely declined to recognize the debts of the imperial government.

On August 24 occurred the death of the Premier, Admiral Tomasaburo Kato, and this carried with it the resignation of the cabinet. Four days later Admiral Count Gombei *Yamamoto* was sent for, to form the new administration. Yamamoto was one of the pioneer graduates of the Naval Academy in 1877 and had had much experience abroad in the United States and in Germany. He was not new to the premiership, having formed his first cabinet in 1913. But this time he came into power at a crisis of wholly unlooked for disaster, for it was by candlelight and amid the terrors of the great earthquake of September 1, 1923, that the new ministry assumed the seals of office.

The great earthquake

Practically without warning, about a minute before noon on Saturday, September 1, came the great shock which in so brief a space of time overwhelmed the densely populated cities of Tokyo, Yokohama, Yokosuka, Odawara, and many others in the provinces of Sagami, Musashi, Awa, the north coast of Izu and the west coast of Kazusa. Within this area hardly a building was left undamaged, though the structures of reënforced concrete stood the shock fairly well. This "world-shaking earthquake" (that is, one recorded by the seismometers practically all over the world) was followed by a long train of after-shocks and by seismic waves such as that which destroyed a large part of Kamakura. But the most serious after-effect of the earthquake was the fire which broke out independently in many centers, especially in Yokohama and Tokyo, and swept over vast areas of the cities affected. The disruption of the waterpipes, of course, made it quite impossible to do much by way of checking the flames. One of the great tragedies of the whole catastrophe was due to fire, when over 40,000 people took refuge in the ground formerly occupied by the Army Clothing De-

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[1] *See Japan Year Book,* 1924-25, Earthquake Supplement.

pot, on the eastern bank of the river Sumida. Here a furious tornado of flame, approaching from three sides, swept the area and left no trace of life behind.

The losses through the combined effect of earthquake and fire are hard to estimate accurately. About 90,000 were killed in Tokyo and Yokohama, over 100,000 wounded, and over 40,000 were reported as missing. Many, of course, could not be identified, so it is probable that the total toll of human life will never be known. In material things the loss was so prodigious as to be beyond accurate computation. It was estimated as all the way from one to five billion yen, but much perished on which no monetary value could be placed.

Among the fatalities all classes were represented. Princesses Yamashima and Kiroko and the young Prince Moromasa were among the victims and Professor Kuriyagawa, of Kyoto University, perished at Kamakura, Viscountess Oshima at Odawara, Baron K. Matsuoka at Ninomiya. Indirectly due to the earthquake was the death of the last famous member of the older Genro, Marquis Matsukata, aged ninety-two. The venerable statesman was buried in the ruins and rescued alive, only however, to catch pneumonia and die of this and his injuries six months later.

The brighter side of the great calamity appeared almost coincidently with the disaster itself in the instant response of stunned Japan and a sympathetic outside world to the great need. The Yamamoto Ministry, hastily sworn in by the Crown Prince on the evening of September 2, at once took hold of the situation with effective vigor, aided by the Japanese Red Cross and other philanthropic bodies. To the relief fund which was at once started the Emperor contributed 10,000,000 yen and 30,360,000 yen was disbursed from the National Treasury. Nor were outsiders slow to offer help. The foreign ships in the harbor of Yokohama and other ports did splendid service in taking off refugees and supplying first aid to many hundreds of sufferers. When the Relief Fund was finally closed it was seen that out of the 61,000,000 yen subscribed, 21,000,000 yen was from foreign sources. Out of this sum no less than 15,000,000 yen was from the United States and its territories. The sympathy of the United States in this hour of terror and sorrow, and the magnificent service rendered by the American Ambassador, Mr. Cyrus Woods, are things no Japanese is ever likely to forget.

In the first alarm caused by the fire the rumor prevailed that Koreans had been aiding the flames and many innocent persons probably fell under the popular fury because of this belief. But the army acted promptly and in a short time over 100,000 Koreans and over 44,000 Chinese were collected and given shelter at the military barracks. The army also aided wonderfully in the clearing away of collapsed buildings, the building of public shelters and temporary hospitals, the establishment of public dining rooms and such common necessities.

Reconstruction

The ashes of the old Tokyo were hardly cold before reconstruction was in the air, with Viscount Shimpei Goto, Mayor of the capital, and Minister for Home Affairs in the Yamamoto Cabinet, in his element. Dr. Charles A. Beard, formerly director of the New York Bureau of Municipal Research, had been invited to Tokyo by Mayor Goto to make a general survey of the city. Dr. Beard's results were embodied in the interesting book, *The Administration and Politics of Tokyo,* but the author told the present writer in Tokyo a few months before the earthquake that he regretted it would be impossible to carry his plans into effect. Now, however, Dr. Beard was immediately requested by cable to proceed to Japan with a unique opportunity for reconstruction work on modern lines. With two-thirds of the capital in ashes and with a man like Goto, who had done such notable work in the rebuilding of the capital of Formosa, at the head of the Reconstruction Board, it certainly looked as if a chance had come such as seldom offers itself to the molding hand of man. But money was scarce, and the cry for "business as usual" insistent, even within temporary quarters, so it was soon perceived that reconstruction called for patience even more than for skill in city planning. Time was needed even to be sure as to which plan was wiser than any other. There were some who considered that Yokohama might well be allowed to revert to its former unimportance at the time of the first treaty. Some even advocated the removal of the capital to Osaka or back to Kyoto. Some again considered the possibility of so uniting Yokohama and Tokyo as to make one great port. All private persons, of course, were anxious to rebuild their homes and businesses as speedily as possible.

In spite of the difficulties caused during the next few months by obstruction in the Diet, the fall of the Yamamoto Ministry at the end of 1923 and the similar fate of the *Kiyoura* Ministry not long after, and the transformation of the Reconstruction Board into a Reconstruction Bureau, the progress made during the next nine months was almost phenomenal. The bankers announced the worst of the financial crisis successfully weathered; business recovered rapidly and firms began to find their way back to Yokohama as well as to Tokyo; in the former city the breakwater was repaired and many of the old quays replaced more substantially than ever; in Tokyo the population showed a falling off of less than half a million, and schools and parks, homes and business blocks began rapidly to emerge from the ruins. Yet it had been conservatively estimated that all trace of the earthquake of 1923 will hardly be obliterated for twenty years.

On December 27, 1923, a young fanatic, D. Namba, attempted the assassination of the Prince Regent, while the latter was on his way to the Imperial Diet to open the forty-eighth session of that assembly. The Prince was not injured but, as deeming themselves in some way responsible, Premier Yamamoto and his cabinet, together with the Metropolitan Chief of Police, at once tendered their resignation. Viscount Kiyoura was sent for and by January 7 succeeded in getting together a cabinet which was popularly condemned as a "cabinet of the privileged classes." Dr. Mizuno took the place of Goto as Home Minister and so became responsible for the work of reconstruction.

Post-earthquake politics

To the Kiyoura Cabinet fell the duty of carrying through the interrupted plans for the marriage of the Prince Regent. The Prince had been betrothed formally to Princess Nagako Kuni, eldest daughter of Prince Kuni, on January 17, 1918. The alliance was formally sanctioned by the Emperor on June 26, 1922, at which time the public announcement was made. It was intended that the wedding should take place in the fall of 1923, but this plan was defeated by the occurrence of the earthquake. Soon after the beginning of 1924 announcement was made that the wedding would take place on January 26, but the actual ceremonies extended from some days earlier, when the Prince Regent visited the great shrines to make the proper announcements to the ancestors, right on to June 5, when the wedding was celebrated by the citizens of Tokyo in the presence of the royal couple. Sumptuous gifts were showered upon the Prince and Princess from all over the world as well as from the various parts of the Empire, and married life began simply and auspiciously in the Akasaka Palace, originally built for the entertainment of state guests from foreign lands. A happy feature of the whole festivity was the exhibition of genuine affection for the Prince and Princess on the part of the populace. It was plain that royalty's new spirit of democracy and accessibility had not lessened the ancient loyalty of Nippon for its rulers.

The royal wedding

Since the Great War American opinion had been rapidly crystallizing into the form of opposition to the generally unrestricted immigration policy of earlier days. Every nation has the double duty of protecting its own national homogeneity and character and at the same time of recognizing that this character is developed in the interests of world service. In the early years of the Republic the doctrine of the "Melting Pot" was held and taught without reason and with an optimism severely rebuked at the time when the Great War shattered some other national delusions. Hence the swing of the pendulum towards an extremely careful selection of possible immigrants. Unfortunately, while this laudable desire led to the adoption of the *quota* policy of admitting immigrants from most of the outside world, under the influence of long-continued propaganda, the policy of absolute exclusion was adopted for Asiatics. This policy was not resented by Japan because of its effect in excluding immigrants of that nationality, but, first of all, because it discriminated against them as undesirable racially, and, secondly, because it impugned the honorable character of the Gentlemen's Agreement. As Premier Kato put it: "It was . . . a sentimental matter. Nothing practical upon which we had set our hearts had been taken from us. We merely were wounded in our feelings. Our friends had done something we did not expect and could not help adjudging unjust."[2] Mr. Hughes, as Secretary of State, felt the same way. "There can be no question," he said, "that such a statutory exclusion will be deeply resented by the Japanese people. . . . Permit me to suggest that the legislation would seem to be quite unnecessary even for the purpose for which it is devised."

The Immigration Bill

Nevertheless, in spite of all efforts made by individuals and organizations friendly to the Japanese, public opinion so far influenced the House of Representatives that the

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[2] E. Price Bell, *World Chancelleries*, pp. 119 ff.

Immigration Bill, with its obnoxious clause, was passed with but little opposition on April 12, 1924. The publication of a letter by the Japanese Ambassador, Mr. Hanihara, dated April 11, with its solemn warning against the possible "grave consequences" which the passing of the bill might entail, had the unfortunate and unforeseen fate of being interpreted (quite unfairly) as a threat. Partly in consequence of this, the Senate which had been relied upon to modify the bill, also passed the measure, on April 15. Mr. Coolidge signed it with the following statement: "In signing this bill, which in its main features I heartily approve, I regret the impossibility of severing from it the exclusion provision which, in the light of the existing law, affects especially the Japanese. I gladly recognize that the enactment of this provision does not imply any change in our sentiment of admiration and cordial friendship for the Japanese people."

Following upon the passage of the bill there seemed much reason to fear that the President's hope, expressed in these last words, might not be realized. On the other side of the Pacific there were protests official and unofficial. Meetings in which heated speeches were delivered were held in Tokyo and elsewhere, declaring that Japan could not possibly submit. One man committed suicide outside Viscount Inouye's house in order to draw attention by his sacrifice to the great wrong. The funeral of this patriot was made the occasion of a most remarkable demonstration. Officially the cabinet drew up a protest on May 28 which was transmitted to Ambassador Hanihara for presentation at Washington. Nor were protests confined to the other side of the Pacific. On this side the Federal Council of Churches issued a statement which commenced as follows:

> The Asiatic exclusion section of the Immigration Law of 1924 has created an international situation which causes us grave concern. The manner of its enactment, the abrupt abrogation of the Gentlemen's Agreement without the conference

requested by Japan, the insistence on a discriminatory law which Asiatics resent as humiliating, unjust and unchristian, and the affront to Japan's prestige as one of the great and equal nations of the world have combined to wound and grieve a friendly nation.

The law went into effect on July 1 and the first intensity of feeling rapidly subsided, through the good sense of statesmen on both sides of the ocean.

But results followed which had been quite unforeseen, particularly in the encouragement given to the cause of *Pan-Asianism* and the drawing together of the three Powers of Eastern Asia, Russia, China, and Japan. Of a more practical nature was the alteration of certain Japanese laws which had on this side been persistently misunderstood, such as the matter of dual citizenship and the terms on which land might be purchased or leased by foreigners in Japan.

Before the end of the year Mr. Hanihara was replaced as Ambassador to Washington by Mr. Tsuneo Matsudaira, whose names, signifying "Perpetual Peace under the Pine Tree," were regarded as of good omen.

Domestic politics

The Kiyoura Ministry had been doomed almost from its birth and it hardly needed the shock of the Immigration Bill to bring about its downfall. This was hastened by the result of the general election of May, 1924, and on June 8, Viscount Takaati *Kato* was called upon to form a ministry. This he did by including Mr. Tsuyoshi Inukai, of the Kakushin Club. Kato had been a factor in politics from the time when he served as Okuma's secretary. From 1894 for five years he had represented Japan in London and returned to Tokyo to become Minister for Foreign Affairs. He held the same position in Saionji's cabinet and was also in Okuma's Ministry at the outbreak of the Great War. After the death of Katsura, Kato became leader of the new Kenseikai Party and it was the victory of this party which swept him into office at this juncture. Yet before he had been a year in office he was deserted by Takahashi and Inukai and the cabinet had to be re-formed by command of the Prince Regent in order to harmonize the diverse elements of which it had been composed.

The Manhood Suffrage Bill

One of the great achievements, in the field of domestic politics, of the Kato Ministry was the passing of the *Manhood Suffrage Bill* in March, 1925. The bill was introduced for the purpose of doing away with the property qualification and to grant the franchise to every male, free from stated disabilities, above the age of twenty-five. The listing of these disabilities brought about a sensational struggle between the two houses of the Diet. It had been the intention of the government to disqualify paupers, but the House of Peers amended the disqualification to read: "people depending upon others for help or support." An effort to obtain agreement by compromise led to the Emperor's being asked to prolong the session, first for one day, then for two further days, then for two days more. At last the peers yielded halfway and only two million were cut off the list of voters instead of the four million contemplated. With all amendments, the bill, of course, made a great step forward, not without its risks, for there would be now 12,500,000 voters instead of the 3,000,000 hitherto enfranchised.

Several important changes were made by the bill apart from the increase of the electorate. The number of elected peers is now as follows: counts 18, viscounts 66, barons 66. Imperial nominees to the House of Peers are now 125, while the number of the highest taxpayers elected to the same is 66. Princes and marquises are now permitted to resign from the Upper House at will. A new element is added to the Legislature by the election (from among themselves) of four members of the Imperial Academy for terms of seven years.

Indirectly a result of the Manhood Suffrage Bill is the creation of the *Farmer Labor Party,* a purely political party, formed largely from the non-propertied classes.

It is no exaggeration to say that the passing of this bill is, in the strictest sense of the word, "a second Isshin,"[3] comparable, that is, to the Restoration of 1868. This is the more especially true in the light of Prince Saionji's declaration that after himself there will be no more *Genro.* The power has passed definitely from the hands of privilege into the keeping of the whole people of the Empire.

Relations with China

The fact has already been alluded to that the rebuff received in the United States by the passing of the Immigration Bill had something to do with the drawing into closer relations of China, Russia, and Japan.

In respect to China, Japan had regretted the costly mistake by which the trust of the great Asiatic republic had been forfeited. She now began to realize that the cornerstone of her foreign policy must be in China. As the *Japan Advertiser* at this time put it: "Japan could better afford to sacrifice all other interests before giving up her present and her contemplated co-operation with China in an economic and diplomatic way. The old militaristic idea of political dominance of China by Japan seems to have largely disappeared, along with certain other views long held by the powerful military bureaucrats who have so often dictated to the Foreign Office in the past."[4] Mr. Yusuke Tsurumi has well said:

> There is no doubt some necessity in our new virtues; such situations are not peculiar to the Orient, but the new turn in Chinese-Japanese relations has a deeper significance. It is an expression of the growing desire of the Japanese to take up anew the study of Oriental civilization. It means that Japan is discovering that

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[3] That is, "Renovation," a term applied to the Revolution of 1867.

[4] *Bulletin of the Japan Society of New York,* June, 1924.

> Western civilization dominated by the machine and by passion, offers no solution to the great problems of inherent permanent national stability, serenity of the spirit, and man's greatest achievement, the conquest of himself.[5]

Of even more significance is the announcement of policy by the Foreign Minister, Baron Shidehara, who said in the Diet:

> We have followed with the strictest exactitude the principle of non-interference in China's internal politics. We have absolutely refrained from supplying any party in China with arms, munitions or loans that might be utilized for the purpose of continuing hostilities. Knowing that the Chinese were sick of war, we believed that the refusal of assistance to any particular party in China was, in effect, assistance rendered to the whole nation of China. Another point to which we attached particular importance was our belief in international good faith. The Japanese government had already subscribed to the resolution of the Powers prohibiting the supply of arms and ammunition to China. We further declared on more than one occasion our policy of non-interference in the domestic troubles of that country. We have now translated these commitments faithfully into fact.[6]

This good feeling between the two countries was not allowed to continue without incidents demanding considerable restraint. Among these the *Shanghai Affair* of May, 1925, when the shooting of a Chinese rioter in defense of Japanese mill property proved the spark which threatened a great conflagration. Again the firing by Chinese nationalist troops upon Japanese destroyers on March 12, 1926, created consternation and led to an ultimatum issued by the Protocol Powers of 1901. Yet, with all such critical incidents, the friendly restraint of Japan has been remarkable and the attitude of Mr. Hioki at the Peking

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[5] Yusuke Tsurumi, *Our World*, July, 1925.

[6] Count Soyeshima, *Oriental Interpretations of the Far Eastern Problem*, p. 40.

Tariff Conference was sympathetic beyond that of most of the other representatives.

Relations with Russia

The negotiations between Japan and Russia had hung fire for several years through Japan's unwillingness to relinquish Sakhalin without an adjustment of the Nikolaievsk affair. Fifty years earlier the whole of Sakhalin could have been purchased for $1,000,000, but now M. Joffe wanted the sum of $750,000,000. However, since the earlier occasion Japan had come to realize the value of the island's oil and coal resources, estimated as from one-fifth to one-half of those beneath the surface of the United States. In May, 1924, the insistent demands of the Japanese Government, through Mr. Kenkichi Yoshisawa, brought about a conference, extending to no fewer than seventy-seven sessions, with the Soviet representative, M. Karakhan. On January 20, 1925, the *Russo-Japanese Treaty* was signed providing for the recognition of the Treaty of Portsmouth by the Soviets, for a revision of the Fishery Convention of 1907, for an apology (instead of an indemnity) for the massacre at Nikolaievsk, for concessions to the amount of 50 per cent of the coal and oil deposits of North Sakhalin—all this conditional on the immediate withdrawal of the Japanese troops, and accompanied by a promise that the Soviets would not use propagandist methods in the Empire. Over this last possibility the Japanese statesmen, especially in view of the increase of the electorate, had been excusably nervous.

The conclusion of these negotiations was regarded as one of the most encouraging of recent developments, particularly as it was felt there were policies in Russia and Japan which seemed to be converging on Manchuria and the newspapers were already predicting a recurrence of the conflict of 1904. The Treaty came into force on February 26 and soon after Mr. Tokichi Tanaka left for Moscow to be the first Japanese ambassador to the Soviet Government.

Death of Viscount Kato

The Kato Ministry seemed, after its reorganization exclusively from the ranks of the Kenseikai, to be making fair progress in solving the many problems for which the natural course of political history, as well as the extraordinary necessities created by the earthquake, had made it responsible, when an attack of influenza laid low, at the age of sixty-seven, the premier who had gained the trust and friendship of his own countrymen and the respect of his fellow statesmen in other lands. Viscount Kato was immediately succeeded by *Mr. Reijiro Wakatsuki,* who had been Minister for Home Affairs under his deceased chief. Baron Shidehara continued to hold the portfolio for Foreign Affairs.

Another death, with different associations, which occurred a few weeks later, namely on April 24, 1926, was that of *Prince Yi,* the former ruler of Korea. The ex-Emperor had been ill for some time, but was only fifty-three at the time of his decease. The calling to memory of so much of the passion and intrigue of earlier days led to some exciting scenes in connection with the funeral ceremonies of this last of the Korean royal line. But the ceremonies were tactfully as well as impressively carried out and there was no serious outbreak. The Koreans mourned not only a departed Emperor, but also the burial of many of their former anticipations and hopes.

CHAPTER XXXI

THE BEGINNINGS OF SHOWA

Death of the Emperor

The concluding weeks of 1926 were shadowed by the sickness and imminent death of the Emperor Yoshihito. His health had been declining for some years, and in 1921 the duties of the royal office were transferred to the shoulders of the Prince Regent. By the beginning of December it was perceived that the end was not far off. There was universal sorrow throughout the Empire and many and touching were the efforts of the people by prayer and sacrifice to avert the sovereign's doom. One man, a chronic drunkard, abandoned his vice and prayed day and night for the royal recovery. When it was clear that the prayers were unanswered, he committed suicide. Baron Ikeda also, following the example of General Nogi in 1912, committed suicide to accompany his master to the underworld. Death came to the Emperor on the morning of Christmas day. For six days the mourning was on a national scale, with all government offices closed and no business in evidence but that of preparing for the imperial obsequies. It is believed in Japan that for forty-nine days the soul of the deceased hovers about his old home. Consequently, the funeral ceremonies had to be delayed until after February 7. During the interval, however, there was much to do in the way of preparation and Prince Kanin was appointed head of the Funeral Commission. There was the funeral ox car to be built, with its groaning wheels; there were the ritual offerings to be made to the dead man as he lay in state; there was the making and lighting of the funeral lanterns of pure white paper; there was the ceremonial playing of the manyreeded flute of ancient Japan, the *sho;* there was, moreover, the selection of the site for the mausoleum at Yokoyamamura, a suburb of Tokyo. Here ground was broken early in January, 1927, and everything so carried out that on the appointed day, with all the traditional ritual of Shinto, the 123rd Emperor of earth's oldest dynasty was laid to his long rest. The whole world shared in the grief of the Empire over the passing of one who had been a courteous and modest gentleman as well as the ruler over a great people.

The beginning of Showa

Taisho, the era of *Great Righteousness,* had now run its twelve-years' course. It had carried on the work of Meiji and had witnessed developments in democracy such as might have shocked some of the early leaders of that famous epoch. Manhood suffrage had been at last attained. The age of the Genro was passing into its last eclipse. In foreign affairs the period had had its rebuffs, but these very rebuffs had become challenges to new alignments. The new era, beginning at midnight on December 31, 1926, was designated as *Sho-wa,* a term (made up of two Chinese words) which may be translated as *Enlightened Peace,* and is thus of happy augury for the future.

The new Emperor, whose five years as Regent had already familiarized him with many of the responsibilities of his great task, ascended the throne amid the affectionate good wishes of his people and the respectful homage of the world. In many respects Hirohito marks an entirely new departure for the sovereigns of Japan. If Yoshihito was the first Emperor with a modern education and a modern outlook, Hirohito was the first who had had the advantage of travel in foreign countries. Graduated at the age of eighteen from the Peers' School at Tokyo, he was proficient in the classics of Japan and China, in French and English, in political science and in history. Among his tutors had been the great General Nogi and the equally distinguished Admiral Togo. He had accustomed himself to move freely among his people and was well known through his frequent tours in the rural districts. It was in no merely perfunctory spirit that his first imperial rescript exhorted the government and the officials to encourage originality instead of blind imitativeness, and simplicity instead of vain display. It is not expected that the coronation will take place before 1928, but meanwhile the era of Showa starts off under the best of auspices.

The financial crisis of the spring of 1927, however, brought in its train the fall of the Wakatsuki Ministry, and, on April 18, Baron Giichi Tanaka, head of the Seiyukai party, became premier. For a time it was feared that the new minister might develop a "strong" Chinese policy, but so far Baron Tanaka has followed carefully, in matters of foreign policy, the steps of his predecessors.

It has been said with much truth that since all art is selection, history cannot be written life size. Among thousands of facts historians have to choose those which are specially characteristic or specially significant. It is this which probably makes the writing of contemporary history the most difficult of all arts. It is not possible so to select as to be sure that the particular happenings we are at pains to record are those which will ultimately fall into the picture as the significant elements. Without the intuition which is akin rather to the vision of the prophet than to the art of the historian, it is impossible out of the chronicle of the world's events to find the thin, red line of purpose which is the real link between the past, the present, and the future.

For this reason these closing pages need be no mere rehearsal of the more recent incidents in an ever fluid and developing story. Rather does our attention need to be directed to a few things in conclusion such as reveal the trend of affairs in the Empire of the Rising Sun, of which many of the more isolated phenomena of the story are the more or less obvious illustrations. If we are able to seize the significance of these things, we shall possess the proper clue for the interpretation of the whole story we have attempted to outline.

First, in reference to the Japanese attitude towards the Emperor and the imperial family: Modern Japan has done much more than abolish the feudalism which concealed the ancient prerogatives of the sovereign. The sovereign himself is differently, though not less significantly conceived. He is no longer the sacrosanct personage who must only be approached with a screen between himself and the suppliant. He is, as the training of the present Emperor makes clear, himself permitted to come into contact with things and persons hitherto remote and alien. He is also accessible to the people who revere him as their ruler and as the symbol of the nation's security. While less and less is the emphasis placed upon the old stories which link the royal house with the Sun Goddess, more and more does the Throne become that rallying point for patriotism without which Japanese politics might so easily degrade itself into a sordid struggle between the ambitions of partisan statesmen. The rejoicings which gathered around the celebration of the Emperor's wedding in 1924 and over the birth and name ceremony of the little Princess Terunomiya in 1926 show a happy change from the distant religious awe which once fenced the royal house from the populace to the generous association to-day of all in one common joy.

The last years, too, have witnessed a very striking change in the place of the Diet as an instrument of government. It was probably out of an instinctive wisdom that, instead of flinging open political privilege at one act to all men everywhere, the leaders were content with training a minority to appreciate their prerogative. Men complained of the fewness of the enfranchized, the dominance of the Genro, the frequency with which imperial ordinances and dissolutions were invoked in the interest of a ministry, the slight respect paid to the opinion of a majority in the Diet. Yet the steps taken so tentatively and with such apparent hesitation have succeeded in making, as nothing else could have done, a safe pathway towards the recently granted manhood suffrage. If the party system was slow in gaining the trust of cabinets, it was because it was sensed that the best way to discredit the party system was to make it prematurely responsible for the affairs of the nation. To-day the parties of Japan are coming into their own, and, from Hara to Wakatsuki, men have been found whose partisanship has in no way superseded their desire to serve their Emperor and their country.

In international politics Japan faces responsibilities of which she never dreamed when Commodore Perry forced the gates which for two and a half centuries had remained barred against the outside world. It was not without conflict and not without mistake that the Island Empire accepted the responsibilities which were so gradually yet so insistently presented. She had to learn war, after the Western method; then, in order to keep some part of what she had won by war, she had to learn diplomacy, also after the Western method; then she had to learn the industrial systems of the West, in order to provide subsistence for the increasing population, for which there was no outlet in that West which had forced her from seclusion. That Japan was not only able to learn these lessons, but was able, by the aid of these lessons, to take her place at the high table of international politics, is surely evidence of the fact that her history has a vital continuity which may be compared with the consciousness linking together the experiences of an individual personality. The best ground for the assurance that Japan will overcome the difficulties which at present confront her is in the contemplation of the successful adjustments of the past. If she has made her mistakes in China, she has been in no slight degree educated by the process to the possibilities of a relation in the future as beneficial to herself as to her neighbor. It is fairly certain that Japan and China will coöperate in the future much more fully and effectively than has been possible in the past. So again, if Japan has had in the past her conflict with Russia, she has learned by that conflict what are the things worth fighting for and how these objects may be best attained. There may be much of truth in the rumors as to the significance of what is known as the Pan-Asiatic movement. It might very well be that, rebuffed in the West, Japan may find it to her advantage to court in Asia the prestige which she is grudged in Europe or America. Nevertheless, however close may grow the bond which is to unite in the future the three great Asiatic Powers, it may be taken for granted that Japan in no wise intends to forfeit the place she has won, by the arts of war and peace, in the counsels of the West. Japan has much yet to win from the reluctant nations who have hitherto feared to make the doctrine of racial equality the corollary of the famous clause with which the American Constitution opens. Japan, it may be assumed, will not willingly remain quiescent under the stigma of being a race of undesirables in the great human family. This is something she resents far more than the refusal of the privilege of sending a few hundred immigrants to the American shores. It is fairly certain that the increased interest in domestic politics which will result from the extension of the franchise will also lead to an intensified interest in the status of Japan among the Powers and to renewed efforts to free the nation from the limitations at present accepted. There appears to be no reason for supposing that such a readjustment is impossible, without the least interference with the undoubted right of the United States to determine the character of its own incoming population.

Turning to the consideration of domestic affairs in Japan, it is obvious that the Empire is becoming increasingly democratic. The rising tide of democracy has brought with it much of progress; it has also brought not a little of present danger and menace to the future. That militarism is less popular than aforetime ought not to seem surprising to those who remember that the two centuries of Tokugawa supremacy were but slightly infected with the military virus. Japan became militaristic to meet and overcome dangers which threatened her very existence. She would doubtless become so again were she at any future time similarly threatened. But she prizes too well the ways of peace to cultivate for their own sake the arts of war. Socialism of various types—Marxist, State-Socialist, Christian Socialist, Syndicalist, and Anarchist (the last two "strictly controlled")—has no doubt made headway with some portion of the proletariat. But there is at present no sign that the patriotism of Japan has lost its faith or its ancient vigor. Labor organization, again, has undoubtedly increased in strength, and economic discontent has been exploited by strikes such as a few years ago would have been instantly suppressed. But it would be strange indeed if the evils of modern industrialism, its low wages, its bad housing, its problems of unemployment, had been accepted without manifestation of revolt. After the War conditions changed for the worse more slowly than in Europe. But Japan could not escape the swing of the pendulum altogether. So, whereas in 1914 there were only 50 strikes, involving less than 8,000 workers, in 1918 there were 417, involving over 66,000. Since then the growth of unemployment has had the result of lessening the number of strikes. Japanese industrialism, which in part has been due to the necessity of providing for the surplus population, and in part due to the need of accommodating the nation to a changed civilization, has not yet succeeded in altering the essentially agricultural character of the people as a whole. Seventy per cent of the population are still cultivators of the soil and 70 per cent of these are tenants each tilling an average of one and a half acres. A number of people equal to half the population of the

United States has to be supported on one-twentieth of the area of our own country. Even with the drift to the cities it will be seen that there is here to be faced a tremendous problem which the progress of intensive farming and the efforts to reclaim some five million acres by utilization projects cannot wholly solve. Special crops are being sought for such lands as may promise large returns. Beans, potatoes, sweet potatoes, tobacco, etc., are being cultivated in favorable localities. It is to be remembered also that sericulture employs the labor of over one and a half million families, while nearly the same number of individuals get their living by fishing. As for work which is specially that of women, recent figures show that 12,770,000 women are engaged in various occupations, with 4,000,000 as farm hands, 1,250,000 as factory workers, 1,200,000 in business, 1,000,000 as servants, and 320,000 in the public service. There are at present less than a thousand women doctors, though there are 35,000 nurses and about the same number of midwives. Trade-union methods, of course, are strongest in the cities, but are beginning to affect the country districts also. For example, tenant farmers' unions have sprung up in recent years to the number of 500.

The recent successful agitation for manhood suffrage has necessarily had its counterpart in the movement for the political enfranchisement of women, and the Woman's Suffrage Federation was actually able to bring a Suffragette bill before the Diet. It was voted down, but will doubtless come up again. At any rate, the regulation forbidding women to attend political meetings has been repealed, and the *Woman's Day,* established in 1924, is annually observed.

Even without the franchise the modern Japanese woman is contributing largely to welfare work. As Dr. Faust has recently said: "Questions of education, proper care of poor children, playgrounds for children, the milk supply and sanitary measures, are the lines along which woman's suffrage has been a decided help."[1]

Welfare work to-day is being carried on by three types of organization. There is, first of all, the imperial charity, which, for emergency occasions mainly, has been extraordinarily generous. Secondly, there are the administrative agencies, providing for the insane, tubercular, the reform of refractory boys, care of lepers, blind, deaf-mutes, discharged prisoners, and for the medical treatment or funeral expenses of unclaimed travelers. Relief of this type is also given to the decrepit above seventy and to the physically disabled, to children under thirteen, and to invalids. Under this head also come coöperative and credit societies and the mutual aid associations organized in connection with the government establishments. Thirdly, we have the welfare work carried on by private individuals and voluntary associations, both Christian and Buddhist. Under this head it should be remembered that an increasing number of the large mercantile establishments are now engaged in welfare work among their employees, by the provision of doctors and nurses, playgrounds and entertainment halls, sick benefits, and the like.

One of the most important of recently organized pieces of welfare work is the project, under the auspices of a son of Count Arima, and with the assistance of members of the Diet, for the reclaiming of the two million outcasts known as the eta. The leaders of this movement, says the Tokyo correspondent of the *North China Herald*, "fully realize that prejudices, such as these, die hard in the East, especially prejudices that are handed down through the centuries. They accordingly propose to go to work by raising the economic status of the *eta* rather than by attempting to deal with the problem on the social plane."

To a visitor it is not easy to remember that in past times the standard of living generally throughout Japan has been far below the present Western mark. We are prone, therefore, to estimate present conditions rather by comparison with present American than with the Japanese standards of an earlier age. With a fair degree of judgment it should be plain that immense progress has been made in recent years. The two danger spots are, first, the growth of industrialism and, second, the growing irreverence for the old sanctions of law and order.

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[1] *See* A. K. Faust, *The New Japanese Womanhood*, p. 116.

The question is often asked as to the direction in which the face of Japan is really turned. Will she, with her international status accepted, make herself the missionary of her ancient idealism? Mr. Satomi expresses his own desire as follows: "I sincerely hope that there will come a time when the value of the Japanese Ancient Idealism will be recognized and appreciated by European philosophers and thinkers, and their assiduous study would eventually and reciprocally stimulate researches of this principle of Japan."[2]

On the other hand, there are those who desire to see Japan completely separated from her past in order to pursue her national adventure along Western lines. Professor Hara writes: "What we aspire to earnestly as our national ideal is to make our country able to stand shoulder to shoulder with the senior Western nations in contributing to the advance and welfare of world civilization. We shall proceed towards this goal, however fluctuating foreign opinion about us may be for years or ages to come."[3]

In all probability the two ideals may not prove irreconcilable. So far the Japanese have always exhibited marvelous aptitude for making the difficult transitions and the necessary syntheses of their history with skill and success. In the light of the achievements of the past seventy-five years, one has no need to fear for the future.

It is not the function of the historian to indulge in speculation, which is about as near as he may approach to the gift of prophecy. But it is possible to lay this little record of the past before the opening portals of the future with the fullest conviction that the qualities so brilliantly exemplified during the past twenty-five centuries will find the challenge of the coming generation no uncongenial stimulus to struggle, no unreal harbinger of future victory. In the program of Japan, says Dr. W. W. McLaren, "there will arise a long succession of difficult problems demanding solution, but with a government resting upon the support of a politically free people and led by a monarch loyalty to whom is an article of faith, no problems need be feared. With its manhood preserved and developed by the free exercise of its faculties in all directions, no nation need dread what the future has in store." [4]

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[2] K. Satomi, *Discovery of Japanese Idealism*, p. 142.

[3] K. Hara, *An Introduction to the History of Japan*, p. 398

All the demigods and heroes of Yamato will look from their abode of bliss and give glad assent to such an assurance. The deeds of Yamato Dake and of Hideyoshi, the statesmanship of Yoritomo and Iyeyasu, the loyalty of Kusunoki and Nitta Yoshisada, the unquenchable faith of Takano Nagahide and Yoshida Shoin, the manifold labors of leaders from the first Fujiwaras to Kido, Okubo and Ito, the majesty of kings from Jimmu Tenno and Nintoku to Meiji Tenno, vindicate and sustain our confidence.

With only such anxiety as may spring from a common sympathy, the outside world has the best of grounds for the expression of faith in the future of Japan. That world, with all the many millions of the Island Empire, may well join in singing the *Kimi-ga-yo,* that ancient prayer of prayers for the ruler who gathers up in his person the loyalty of a hundred generations of Dai Nippon:

A thousand years of happy life be Thine!
Live on, my Lord, till what are pebbles now,
By age united, to great rocks shall grow,
Whose venerable sides the moss doth line.

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[4] W. W. McLaren, "Japanese Government Documents," Preface, *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan,* Vol. XLII (1914), Part I.

APPENDIX I

CONSTITUTION OF THE EMPIRE OF JAPAN

TOKYO, FEBRUARY 11, 1889

CHAPTER I. THE EMPEROR

Article I. The Empire of Japan shall be ruled over by Emperors of the dynasty, which has reigned in an unbroken line of descent for ages past.

Article II. The succession to the throne shall devolve upon male descendants of the Imperial House, according to the provisions of the Imperial House Law.

Article III. The person of the Emperor is sacred and inviolable.

Article IV. The Emperor being the Head of the Empire the rights of sovereignty are invested in him, and he exercises them in accordance with the provisions of the present Constitution.

Article V. The Emperor exercises the legislative power with the consent of the Imperial Diet.

Article VI. The Emperor gives sanction to laws, and orders them to be promulgated and put into force.

Article VII. The Emperor convokes the Imperial Diet, opens, closes, and prorogues it, and dissolves the House of Representatives.

Article VIII. In case of urgent necessity, when the Imperial Diet is not sitting, the Emperor, in order to maintain the public safety or to avert a public danger, has the power to issue Imperial Ordinances, which shall take the place of laws. Such Imperial Ordinances shall, however, be laid before the Imperial Diet at its next session, and should the Diet disapprove of the said Ordinances, the Government shall declare them to be henceforth invalid.

Article IX. The Emperor issues, or causes to be issued, the ordinances necessary for the carrying out of the laws, or for the maintenance of public peace and order, and for the promotion of the welfare of his subjects. But no Ordinance shall in any way alter any of the existing laws.

Article X. The Emperor determines the organization of the different branches of the Administration; he fixes the salaries of all civil and military officers, and appoints and dismisses the same. Exceptions specially provided for in the present Constitution or in other laws shall be in accordance with the respective provisions bearing thereon.

Article XI. The Emperor has the supreme command of the army and navy.

Article XII. The Emperor determines the organization and peace standing of the army and navy.

Article XIII. The Emperor declares war, makes peace, and concludes treaties.

Article XIV. The Emperor proclaims the law of siege. The conditions and operation of the law of siege shall be determined by law.

Article XV. The Emperor confers titles of nobility, rank, orders, and other marks of honor.

Article XVI. The Emperor orders amnesty, pardon, commutation of punishments, and rehabilitation.

Article XVII. The institution of a Regency shall take place in conformity with the provisions of the Imperial House Law.

The Regent shall exercise the supreme powers which belong to the Emperor in his name.

CHAPTER II. RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF SUBJECTS

Article XVIII. The conditions necessary for being a Japanese subject shall be determined by law.

Article XIX. Japanese subjects shall all equally be eligible for civil and military appointments, and any other public offices, subject only to the conditions prescribed and Laws and Ordinances.

Article XX. Japanese subjects are amenable to service in the army or navy, according to the provisions of law.

Article XXI. Japanese subjects are amenable to the duty of paying taxes, according to the provisions of law.

Article XXII. Subject to the limitations imposed by law, Japanese subjects shall enjoy full liberty in regard to residence and change of abode.

Article XXIII. No Japanese subject shall be arrested, detained, tried or punished, except according to law.

Article XXIV. No Japanese subject shall be deprived of right of being tried by judges determined by law.

Article XXV. Except in the cases provided for in the law, the house of no Japanese subject shall be entered or searched without his permission.

Article XXVI. Except in cases provided for in the law, the secrecy of the letters of Japanese subjects shall not be violated.

Article XXVII. The rights of property of Japanese subjects shall not be violated. Such measures, however, as may be rendered necessary in the interests of the public welfare shall be taken in accordance with the provisions of the law.

Article XXVIII. Japanese subjects shall, within limits not prejudicial to peace and order, and not antagonistic to their duties as subjects, enjoy freedom of religious belief.

Article XXIX. Japanese subjects shall, within the limits of the law, enjoy liberty in regard to speech, writing, publication, public meetings, and associations.

Article XXX. Japanese subjects may present petitions, provided that they observe the proper form of respect, and comply with the rules specially provided for such matters.

Article XXXI. The provisions contained in the present chapter shall not interfere with the exercise, in times of war or in case of national emergency, of the supreme powers which belong to the Emperor.

Article XXXII. Each and every one of the provisions contained in the preceding articles of the present chapter shall, in so far as they do not conflict with the laws or the rules and discipline of the army and navy, apply to the officers and men of the army and of the navy.

Chapter III. The Imperial Diet

Article XXXIII. The Imperial Diet shall consist of two Houses: the House of Peers and the House of Representatives.

Article XXXIV. The House of Peers shall, in accordance with the Ordinance concerning the House of Peers, be composed of members of the Imperial Family, of Nobles, and of Deputies who have been nominated by the Emperor.

Article XXXV. The House of Representatives shall be composed of members elected by the people, according to the provisions of the Law of Election.

Article XXXVI. No one can at one and the same time be a member of both Houses.

Article XXXVII. Every law requires the consent of the Imperial Diet.

Article XXXVIII. Both Houses shall vote upon projects of law brought forward by the Government, and may respectively bring forward projects of law.

Article XXXIX. A bill which has been rejected by either of the Houses shall not be again brought in during the same session.

Article XL. Both Houses can make recommendations to the Government in regard to laws, or upon any other subject. When, however, such recommendations are not adopted, they cannot be made a second time during the same session.

Article XLI. The Imperial Diet shall be convoked every year.

Article XLII. A session of the Imperial Diet shall last during three months. In case of necessity, a duration of a session may be prolonged by Imperial order.

Article XLIII. When urgent necessity arises, an extraordinary session may be convoked, in addition to the ordinary one. The duration of an extraordinary session shall be determined by Imperial order.

Article XLIV. With regard to the opening, closing, and prorogation of the Imperial Diet, and the prolongation of its sessions, these shall take place simultaneously in both Houses. Should the House of Representatives be ordered to dissolve, the House of Peers shall at the same time be prorogued.

Article XLV. When the House of Representatives has been ordered to dissolve, the election of new members shall be ordered by Imperial decree, and the new House shall be convoked within five months from the day of dissolution.

Article XLVI. No debate can be opened and no vote can be taken in either House of the Imperial Diet unless not less than one-third of the whole number of the members thereof is present.

Article XLVII. Votes shall be taken in both Houses by absolute majority. In the case of a tie vote, the President shall have the casting vote.

Article XLVIII. The deliberation of both Houses shall be held in public. The deliberations may, however, upon demand of the Government or by resolution of the House, be held in secret sitting.

Article XLIX. Both Houses of the Imperial Diet may respectively present addresses to the Emperor.

Article L. Both Houses may receive petitions presented by subjects.

Article LI. Both Houses may enact, besides what is provided for in the present constitution and in the law of the Houses, rules necessary for the management of their internal affairs.

Article LII. No member of either House shall be held responsible outside the respective Houses for any opinion uttered or for any vote given by him in the House. When, however, a member himself has given publicity to his opinions, by public speech, by documents in print, or in writing, or by any other means, he shall, as regards such actions, be amenable to the general law.

Article LIII. The members of both Houses shall, during the session, be free from arrest, unless with the permission of the House, except in cases of flagrant delicts, or of offenses connected with civil war or foreign troubles.

Article LIV. The Ministers of State, and persons deputed for that purpose by the Government, may at any time take seats and speak in either House.

Chapter IV. The Ministers of State and the Privy Council

Article LV. The respective Ministers of State shall give their advice to the Emperor, and be responsible for it.

All laws, public ordinances, and imperial rescripts, of whatever kind, that relate to the affairs of the state, require the counter-signature of a Minister of State.

Article LVI. The Privy Council shall, in accordance with the provisions for the organization of the Privy Council, deliberate upon the important matters of State, when they have been consulted by the Emperor.

CHAPTER V. THE JUDICATURE

Article LVII. Judicial powers shall be exercised by the courts of law, according to law, in the name of the Emperor. The organization of the courts of law shall be determined by law.

Article LVIII. The judges shall be appointed from among those who possess the proper qualifications determined by law. No judge shall be dismissed from his post except on the ground of sentence having been passed upon him for a criminal act, or by reason of his having been subjected to punishment for disciplinary offense. Rules for disciplinary punishment shall be determined by law.

Article LIX. Trials shall be conducted and judgments rendered publicly. When, however, there exists any fear that such publicity may be prejudicial to peace and order, or to the maintenance of public morality, the public trial may be suspended either in accordance with the law bearing on the subject or by the decision of the court concerned.

Article LX. Matters which fall within the competency of the special courts shall be specially determined by law.

Article LXI. The courts of law shall not take cognizance of any suits which arise out of the allegations that rights have been infringed by illegal action on the part of the executive authorities, and which fall within the competency of the court of administrative litigation, specially established by law.

CHAPTER VI. FINANCE

Article LXII. The imposition of a new tax or the modification of the rates (of an existing one) shall be determined by law.

However, all such administrative fees or other revenue as are in the nature of compensation for services rendered shall not fall within the category of the above clause.

The raising of national loans and the contracting of other liabilities to the charge of the National Treasury, except those that are provided in the Budget, shall require the consent of the Imperial Diet.

Article LXIII. Existing taxes shall, in so far as they are not altered by new laws, continue to be collected as heretofore.

Article LXIV. The annual expenditure and revenue of the State shall, in the form of an annual Budget, receive the consent of the Imperial Diet. Any expenditure which exceeds the appropriations set forth under the various heads of the Budget, or those not provided for in the Budget, shall be referred subsequently to the Imperial Diet for its approval.

Article LXV. The Budget shall be first laid before the House of Representatives.

Article LXVI. The expenditure in respect of the Imperial House shall be defrayed every year out of the National Treasury, according to the present fixed amount for the same, and shall not hereafter require the consent thereto of the Imperial Diet, except in case an increase thereof is found necessary.

Article LXVII. The fixed expenditure based upon the supreme powers of the Emperor and set forth in this Constitution, and such expenditure as may have arisen by the effect of law, or as appertains to the legal obligations of the Government, shall be neither rejected nor reduced by the Imperial Diet, without the concurrence of the Government.

Article LXVIII. In order to meet special requirements the Government may ask the consent of the Imperial Diet to a certain amount as a continuing expenditure fund, for a previously fixed number of years.

Article LXIX. In order to supply unavoidable deficits in the Budget, and to meet requirements unprovided for in the same, a reserve fund shall be established.

Article LXX. When there is urgent need for the adoption of measures for the maintenance of the public safety, and when in consequence of the state either of the domestic affairs or of the foreign relations, the Imperial Diet cannot be convoked, the necessary financial measures may be taken by means of an Imperial Ordinance. In such cases as those mentioned in the preceding clause the matter shall be submitted to the Imperial Diet at its next session for its approval.

Article LXXI. When the Imperial Diet has not voted on the Budget, or when the Budget has not been brought into actual existence, the Government shall carry out the Budget of the preceding year.

Article LXXII. The final account of the expenditure and revenue of the State shall be verified and confirmed by the Board of Audit, and it shall be submitted by the Government to the Imperial Diet, together with the report of verification of the said Board.

The organization and competency of the Board of Audit shall be determined by law separately.

Chapter VII. Supplementary Rules

Article LXXIII. Should, hereafter, the necessity arise for the amendment of the provisions of the present Constitution, a project to that effect shall be submitted for the deliberation of the Imperial Diet by Imperial Order. In the above case, neither House can open a debate, unless not less than two-thirds of the whole number of members are present; and no amendment can be passed unless a majority of not less than two-thirds of the members present is obtained.

Article LXXIV. No modification of the Imperial House Law shall be required to be submitted for the deliberation of the Imperial Diet. No provision of the present Constitution can be modified by the Imperial House Law.

Article LXXV. No modification can be introduced into the Constitution, or into the Imperial House Law, during the time of a Regency.

Article LXXVI. Existing legal enactments, such as laws, regulations, and ordinances, and all other such enactments, by whatever names they may be called, which do not conflict with the present constitution, shall continue in force. All existing contracts or orders which entail obligations upon the Government, and which are connected with the expenditure, shall come within the scope of Article LXVII.

APPENDIX II

FIRST TREATY BETWEEN JAPAN AND THE UNITED STATES, 1854

TREATY OF PEACE, AMITY, AND COMMERCE

Concluded March 31, 1854; ratification advised by the Senate July 15, 1854; ratified by the President August 7, 1854; ratifications exchanged February 21, 1855; proclaimed June 22, 1855.

ARTICLES

I. Peace and amity
II. Opening of Simoda and Hakodade
III. Shipwrecks
IV. Treatment of shipwrecked persons
V. Shipwrecked persons at Simoda and Hakodade
VI. Business
VII. Trade
VIII. Supplies to vessels
IX. Most favored nation privileges
X. Open ports
XI. Consuls
XII. Ratifications

The United States of America and the Empire of Japan, desiring to establish firm, lasting, and sincere friendship between the two nations, have resolved to fix, in a manner clear and positive, by means of a treaty or general convention of peace and amity, the rules which shall in future be mutually observed in the intercourse of their respective countries; for which most desirable object the President of the United States has conferred full powers on his Commissioner, Matthew Calbraith Perry, Special Ambassador of the United States to Japan, and the August Sovereign of Japan has given similar full powers to his Commissioners, Hayashi, Daigaku-no-kami; Ido, Prince of Tsus-Sima; Izawa, Prince of Mima-saki; and Udono, Member of the Board of Revenue. And the said Commissioners, after having exchanged their said full powers, and duly considered the premises, have agreed to the following articles:

ARTICLE I

There shall be a perfect, permanent, and universal peace, and a sincere and cordial amity between the United States of America on the one part, and the Empire of Japan on the other part, and between their people respectively, without exception of persons or places.

ARTICLE II

The port of Simoda, in the principality of Idzu, and the port of Hakodade, in the principality of Matsmai, are granted by the Japanese as ports for the reception of American ships, where they can be supplied with wood, water, provisions, and coal, and other articles their necessities may require, as far as the Japanese have them. The time for opening the first-named port is immediately on signing this treaty; the last-named port is to be opened immediately after the same day in the ensuing Japanese year.

NOTE.—A tariff of prices shall be given by the Japanese officers of the things which they can furnish, payment for which shall be made in gold and silver coin.

ARTICLE III

Whenever ships of the United States are thrown or wrecked on the coast of Japan, the Japanese vessels will assist them, and carry their crews to Simoda, or Hakodade, and hand them over to their countrymen, appointed to receive them; whatever articles the shipwrecked men may have preserved shall likewise be restored, and the expenses incurred in the rescue and support of Americans and Japanese who may thus be thrown upon the shores of either nation are not to be refunded.

ARTICLE IV

Those shipwrecked persons and other citizens of the United States shall be free as in other countries, and not subjected to confinement, but shall be amenable to just laws.

ARTICLE V

Shipwrecked men and other citizens of the United States, temporarily living at Simoda and Hakodade, shall not be subject to such restrictions and confinement as the Dutch and Chinese are at Nagasaki, but shall be free at Simoda to go where they please within the limits of seven Japanese miles (or ri) from a small island in the harbor of Simoda marked on the accompanying chart hereto appended; and in like manner shall be free to go where they please at Hakodade, within limits to be defined after the visit of the United States squadron to that place.

ARTICLE VI

If there be any other sort of goods wanted, or any business which shall require to be arranged, there shall be careful deliberation between the parties in order to settle such matters.

ARTICLE VII

It is agreed that ships of the United States resorting to the ports open to them shall be permitted to exchange gold and silver coin and articles of goods for other articles of goods, under such regulations as shall be temporarily established by the Japanese Government for that purpose. It is stipulated, however, that the ships of the United States shall be permitted to carry away whatever articles they are unwilling to exchange.

ARTICLE VIII

Wood, water, provisions, coal, and goods required, shall only be procured through the agency of Japanese officers appointed for that purpose, and in no other manner.

ARTICLE IX

It is agreed that if at any future day the Government of Japan shall grant to any other nation or nations privileges and advantages which are not herein granted to the United States and the citizens thereof, that these same privileges and advantages shall be granted likewise to the United States and to the citizens thereof, without any consultation or delay.

Article X

Ships of the United States shall be permitted to resort to no other ports in Japan but Simoda and Hakodade, unless in distress or forced by stress of weather.

Article XI

There shall be appointed, by the Government of the United States, Consuls or Agents to reside in Simoda, at any time after the expiration of eighteen months from the date of the signing of this treaty; provided that either of the two Governments deem such arrangement necessary.

Article XII

The present convention having been concluded and duly assigned shall be obligatory and faithfully observed by the United States of America and Japan, and by the citizens and subjects of each respective Power; and it is to be ratified and approved by the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate thereof, and by the August Sovereign of Japan, and the ratification shall be exchanged within eighteen months from the date of the signature thereof, or sooner if practicable.

In faith whereof we, the respective Plenipotentiaries of the United States of America and the Empire of Japan aforesaid, have signed and sealed these presents.

Done at Kanagawa, this thirty-first day of March, in the year of our Lord Jesus Christ one thousand eight hundred and fifty-four. and of Kayei the seventh year, third month, and third day.

M. C. Perry

APPENDIX III

ANGLO-JAPANESE TREATY OF JANUARY 30, 1902

Art. I.—The High Contracting Parties, having mutually recognized the independence of China and Korea, declare themselves to be entirely uninfluenced by any aggressive tendencies in either country. Having in view, however, their special interests; of which those of Great Britain relate principally to China, while Japan, in addition to the interests which she possesses in China, is interested in a peculiar degree politically, as well as commercially and industrially, in Korea, the High Contracting Parties recognize that it will be admissible for either of them to take such measures as may be indispensable in order to safeguard those interests if threatened either by the aggressive action of any other Power, or by disturbances arising in China or Korea, and necessitating the intervention of either of the High Contracting Parties for the protection of the lives and property of its subjects.

Art. II.—If either Great Britain or Japan, in the defence of their respective interests as above described, should become involved in war with another Power, the other High Contracting Party will maintain a strict neutrality, and use its efforts to prevent others from joining in hostilities against its Ally.

Art. III.—If, in the above event, any other Power or Powers should join in hostilities against that Ally, the other High Contracting Party will come to its assistance, and will conduct the war in common, and make peace in mutual agreement with it.

Art. IV.—The High Contracting Parties agree that neither of them will, without consulting the other, enter into separate arrangements with another Power to the prejudice of the interests above described.

Art. V.—Whenever, in the opinion of either Great Britain or Japan, the above mentioned interests are in jeopardy, the two Governments will communicate with one another fully and frankly.

Art. VI.—The present Agreement shall come into effect immediately after the date of its signature, and remain in force for five years from that date. In case neither of the High Contracting Parties should have notified twelve months before the expiration of the said five years the intention of terminating it, it shall remain binding until the expiration of one year from the day on which either of the High Contracting Parties shall have denounced it. But if, when the date fixed for its expiration arrives, either ally is actually engaged in war, the Alliance shall, *ipso facto,* continue until peace is concluded.

APPENDIX IV

AGREEMENT BETWEEN JAPAN AND THE UNITED KINGDOM, SIGNED AT LONDON, AUGUST 12, 1905

Preamble. The Governments of Japan and Great Britain, being desirous of replacing the agreement concluded between them on the 30th January, 1902, by fresh stipulations, have agreed upon the following articles, which have for their object:

(*a*). The consolidation and maintenance of the general peace in the regions of Eastern Asia and of India;

(*b*). The preservation of the common interests of all Powers in China by insuring the independence and integrity of the Chinese Empire and the principle of equal opportunities for the commerce and industry of all nations in China;

(*c*). The maintenance of the territorial rights of the High Contracting Parties in the regions of Eastern Asia and of India, and the defence of their special interests in the said regions:

Article I. It is agreed that whenever, in the opinion of either Great Britain or Japan, any of the rights and interests referred to in the preamble of this Agreement are in jeopardy, the two Governments will communicate with one another fully and frankly, and will consider in common the measures which should be taken to safeguard those menaced rights or interests.

Article II. If by reason of unprovoked attack or aggressive action, wherever arising, on the part of any other Power or Powers either Contracting Party should be involved in war in defence of its territorial rights or special interests mentioned in the preamble of this Agreement, the other Contracting Party will at once come to the assistance of its ally, and will conduct the war in common, and make peace in mutual agreement with it.

Article III. Japan possessing paramount political, military, and economic interests in Corea, Great Britain recognizes the right of Japan to take such measures of guidance, control, and protection in Corea as she may deem proper and necessary to safeguard and advance those interests, provided always that such measures are not contrary to the principle of equal opportunities for the commerce and industry of all nations.

Article IV. Great Britain having a special interest in all that concerns the security of the Indian frontier, Japan recognizes her right to take such measures in the proximity of that frontier as she may find necessary for safeguarding her Indian possessions.

Article V. The High Contracting Parties agree that neither of them will, without consulting the other, enter into separate arrangements with another Power to the prejudice of the objects described in the preamble of this Agreement.

Article VI. As regards the present war between Japan and Russia, Great Britain will continue to maintain strict neutrality unless some other Power or Powers should join in hostilities against Japan, in which case Great Britain will come to the assistance of Japan, and will conduct the war in common, and make peace in mutual agreement with Japan.

Article VII. The conditions under which armed assistance shall be afforded by either Power to the other in the circumstances mentioned in the present Agreement, and the means by which such assistance is to be made available, will be arranged by the Naval and Military authorities of the Contracting Parties, who will from time to time consult one another fully and freely upon all questions of mutual interest.

Article VIII. The present Agreement shall, subject to the provisions of Article VI, come into effect immediately after the date of its signature, and remain in force for ten years from that date.

In case neither of the High Contracting Parties should have notified twelve months before the expiration of the said ten years the intention of terminating it, it shall remain binding until the expiration of one year from the day on which either of the High Contracting Parties shall have denounced it. But, if when the date fixed for its expiration arrives, either ally is actually engaged in war, the alliance shall, *ipso facto,* continue until peace is concluded.

In faith whereof the Undersigned, duly authorized by their respective Governments, have signed this Agreement and have affixed thereto their Seals.

Done in duplicate at London, the 12th day of August, 1905.

(L.S.) TADASU HAYASHI

Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of His Majesty the Emperor of Japan at the Court of St. James

(L.S.) LANSDOWNE

His Britannic Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs

APPENDIX V

THE GENTLEMEN'S AGREEMENT

In order that the best results might follow from an enforcement of the regulations, an understanding was reached with Japan that the existing policy of discouraging emigration of its subjects of the laboring classes to continental United States should be continued, and should, by co-operation of the Governments, be made as effective as possible. This understanding contemplates that the Japanese Government shall issue passports to continental United States only to such of its subjects as are non-laborers or are laborers who, in coming to the continent, seek to resume a formerly acquired domicile, to join a parent, wife, or children residing there, or to assume active control of an already possessed interest in a farming enterprise in this country, so that the three classes of laborers entitled to receive passports have come to be designated "former residents," "parents, wives, or children of residents," and "settled agriculturists."

With respect to Hawaii, the Japanese Government of its own volition stated that, experimentally at least, the issuance of passports to members of the laboring classes proceeding thence would be limited to "former residents" and "parents, wives, or children of residents." The said Government has also been exercising a careful supervision over the subject of emigration of its laboring class to foreign contiguous territory.

APPENDIX VI

CONVENTION EMBODYING BASIC RULES OF THE RELATIONS BETWEEN JAPAN AND THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS, SIGNED AT PEKING, JANUARY 20, 1925.

Japan and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, desiring to promote relations of good neighbourhood and economic co-operation between them, resolved to conclude a Convention embodying basic rules in regulation of such relations and, to that end, have appointed as their Plenipotentiaries, that is to say:

His Majesty the Emperor of Japan:

Kenkichi Yoshizawa, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the Republic of China, Jushii, a member of the First Class of the Imperial Order of the Sacred Treasure;

The Central Executive Committee of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics:

Lev Mikhailovitch Karakhan, Ambassador to the Republic of China;

Who, having communicated to each other their respective full powers, found to be in good and due form, have agreed as follows:

ARTICLE I

The High Contracting Parties agree that, with the coming into force of the present Convention, diplomatic and consular relations shall be established between them.

ARTICLE II

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics agrees that the Treaty of Portsmouth of September 5th, 1905, shall remain in full force.

It is agreed that the Treaties, Conventions and Agreements, other than the said Treaty of Portsmouth, which were concluded between Japan and Russia prior to November 7, 1917, shall be re-examined at a Conference to be subsequently held between the Governments of the High Contracting Parties and are liable to revision or annulment as altered circumstances may require.

ARTICLE III

The Governments of the High Contracting Parties agree that, upon the coming into force of the present Convention, they shall proceed to the revision of the Fishery Convention of 1907, taking into consideration such changes as may have taken place in the general conditions since the conclusion of the said Fishery Convention.

Pending the conclusion of a convention so revised, the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics shall maintain the practices established in 1924 relating to the lease of fishery lots to Japanese subjects.

ARTICLE IV

The Governments of the High Contracting Parties agree that, upon the coming into force of the present Convention, they shall proceed to the conclusion of a treaty of commerce and navigation in conformity with the principles hereunder mentioned, and that, pending the conclusion of such a treaty, the general intercourse between the two countries shall be regulated by those principles.

1. The subjects or citizens of each of the High Contracting Parties shall, in accordance with the laws of the country:

   (*a*) have full liberty to enter, travel and reside in the territories of the other, and

   (*b*) enjoy constant and complete protection for the safety of their lives and property.

2. Each of the High Contracting Parties shall, in accordance with the laws of the country, accord in its territories to the subjects or citizens of the other, to the widest possible extent and on condition of reciprocity, the right of private ownership and the liberty to engage in commerce, navigation, industries and other peaceful pursuits.

3. Without prejudice to the right of each Contracting Party to regulate by its own laws the system of international trade in that country, it is understood that neither Contracting Party shall apply in discrimination against the other Party any measures of prohibition, restriction or impost which may serve to hamper the growth of the intercourse, economic or otherwise, between the two countries, it being the intention of both Parties to place the commerce, navigation and industry of each country, as far as possible, on the footing of the most-favoured nation.

The Governments of the High Contracting Parties further agree that they shall enter into negotiations, from time to time as circumstances may require, for the conclusion of special arrangements relative to commerce and navigation to adjust and to promote economic relations between the two countries.

Article V

The High Contracting Parties solemnly affirm their desire and intention to live in peace and amity with each other, scrupulously to respect the undoubted right of a State to order its own life within its own jurisdiction in its own way, to refrain and restrain all persons in any governmental service for them, and all organisations in receipt of any financial assistance from them, from any act overt or covert liable in any way whatever to endanger the order and security in any part of the territories of Japan or the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

It is further agreed that neither Contracting Party shall permit the presence in the territories under its jurisdiction:

(*a*) of organisations or groups pretending to be the Government for any part of the territories of the other Party, or

(*b*) of alien subjects or citizens who may be found to be actually carrying on political activities for such organisations or groups.

Article VI

In the interest of promoting economic relations between the two countries, and taking into consideration the needs of Japan with regard to natural resources, the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is willing to grant to Japanese subjects, companies and associations concessions for the exploitation of minerals, forests and other natural resources in all the territories of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

ARTICLE VII

The present Convention shall be ratified.

Such ratification by each of the High Contracting Parties shall, with as little delay as possible, be communicated, through its diplomatic representative at Peking, to the Government of the other Party, and from the date of the later of such communications this Convention shall come into full force.

The formal exchange of the ratifications shall take place at Peking as soon as possible.

In witness whereof the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed the present Convention in duplicate in the English language, and have affixed thereto their seals.

Done at Peking, this twentieth day of January, one thousand nine hundred and twenty-five.

(L.S.) K. YOSHIZAWA
(L.S.) L. KARAKHAN

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